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TRENCKNER

PALI MISCELLANY

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PALI

MISCELLANY

BY

~¹//

V. TRENCKNER.

PART I



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

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In issuing this first part of my Pali Miscellany, it is my hope that I shall be able to continue from time to time to give contributions towards illustrating several details of Pali philology. It will essentially depend upon the more or less favour this specimen meets with from those competent to judge. The following parts will eventually contain the Bhabra texts, the remains preserved in the Nikāyas of what I call the heretical dialect, inquiries on divers points of Pali grammar, emendations to edited texts, etc.

Copenhagen, March 31, 1879.

V. Trenckner.

Abbreviations.

AN. = Anguttaranikāyo.

As. = Atthasālinī.

Bv. = Buddhavamso.

Cp. = Cariyāpiṭakam.

Dh. - Dhammapadam.

DN. - Dighanikāyo.

It. = Itivuttakam.

Jāt. — Jātakam.

MN. - Majjhimanikāyo.

Mp. — Manorathapūraņī.

Pd. = Paramatthadīpanī.

Pj. - Paramatthajotikā.

Ps. = Papañcasūdanī.

SN. = Samyuttanikāyo.

Sn. - Suttanipāto.

Ss. = Sārasangaho.

Th. = Theragatha.

Ud. — Udānam.

A SPECIMEN OF MILINDAPAÑHO.

Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyam puruttame upaganchi Nāgasenam, Gangā va yatha sāgaram.

Asajja rājā citrakathini ukkādhāram tamonudam apucchi nipune panhe thānāthānagate puthū.

Pucchāvissajjanā c' eva gambhīratthūpanissitā hadayangamā kaņņasukhā abbhutā lomahamsanā.

Abhidhammavinayogāļhā suttajālasamatthitā Nāgasenakathā citrā opammehi nayehi ca.

Tattha ñāṇam paṇidhāya hāsayitvāna mānasam suṇotha nipuṇe pañhe kankhāṭhānavidālane ti.

Tamyathā 'nusūyate. — Atthi Yonakānam nānāpuṭa-bhedanam Sāgalan nāma nagaram nadī-pabbata-sobhitam ramaṇīya-bhūmippadesabhāgam ārām-uyyānôpavana-ta-lāka-pokkharaṇī-sampannam nadī-pabbata-vana-rāmaṇeyyakam sutavantanimmitam nihata-paccatthika-paccāmittam anupapīlitam vividha-vicitra-daļha-m-aṭṭāla-koṭṭa-kam varapavara-gopuratoraṇam gambhīraparikhā-paṇḍara-pākāra-parikkhittantepuram suvibhatta-vīthi-caccara-catukka-singhāṭakam suppasāritânekavidha-varabhaṇḍa-

¹⁸ anuppīļitam B. 19 -kotthakam ACM.

paripūritantarāpanam vividha-dānagga-sata-samupasobhitam Himagirisikharasankasa-varabhavanasatasahassa-patigaja-haya-ratha-patti-samākulam naranāri-gaņanucaritam ākinņa-janamanussam puthu-khattiya-brāhmana-vessa-suddam vividha-samanabrāhmanasabhājana-sanghatitam bahuvidhavijjāvanta-naravīra-nisevitam Kāsika-Kotumbarakādi-nānāvidha-vatthapana-sampannam suppasārita-rucira-bahuvidha-pupphagandhāpaņagandhagandhitam āsimsaniya-bahuratana-paripūritam disāmukha-suppasāritāpana-singāravānijaganānucaritam kahāpana-rajata-suvanna-kamsa-patthara-paripūram jotamāna-nidhi-niketam pahūta-dhanadhañña-vittūpakaraņam paripunna-kosakotthāgāram bahv-annapānam bahuvidha-khajja-bhojja-leyya-peyya-sāyaniyam Uttarakurusankāsam sampannasassam Aļakamandā viya devapuram.

Ettha thatvā tesam pubbakammam kathetabbam, kathentena ca chaddhā vibhajitvā kathetabbam, seyyathîdam: Pubbayogo, Milindapañham, Lakkhaṇapañham, Meṇdakapañham, Anumānapañham, Opammakathāpañhan ti. Tattha Milindapañho: Lakkhaṇapañho Vimaticchedanapañho ti duvidho; Meṇdakapañho pi: Mahāvaggo Yogikathāpañho ti duvidho.

Pubbayogo ti tesam pubbakammam. Atīte kira Kassapassa bhagavato sāsane vattamāne Gangāya samīpe ekasmim āvāse mahābhikkhusangho pativasati. Tattha vattasīlasampannā bhikkhū pāto va uṭṭhāya yaṭṭhisammuñjaniyo ādāya buddhagune āvajjentā angaṇam sammajjitvā kacavaram byūham karonti. Ath' eko bhikkhu ekam sāmaṇeram: ehi sāmaṇera, imam kacavaram chaḍḍehîti āha; so asuṇanto viya gacchati. So dutiyam pi tatiyam pi āmantiyamāno asuṇanto viya gacchat' eva. Tato so bhikkhu: dubbaco ayam sāmaṇero ti kuddho sammuñ-

⁶ sanghāṭitam AaC. ⁷ Kodu- M. ¹⁰ -singāri- BC. ¹³ bavha- D; bahunna- M. ¹⁷ chadhā AM. ²⁹ chaddh- A throughout.

ianidandena pahāram adāsi. Tato so rodanto bhavena kacavaram chaddento: Iminā 'ham kacavarachaddanapuññakammena yāvàham nibbānam pāpunāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattatthane majjhantikasuriyo viya mahesakkho mahātejo bhavevvan ti pathamapatthanam patthapesi. Kacavaram chaddetvā nahānatthāya Gangātittham gato Gangāya ūmivegam gaggarāyamānam disvā: Yāvâham nibbanam papunami etth' antare nibbattanibbattatthane ayam ümivego viya thanuppattikapatibhano bhaveyyam akkhayapatibhano ti dutiyam pi patthanam patthapesi. So pi bhikkhu sammunjanisalaya sammunjanim thapetva nahānatthāya Gangātittham gacchanto sāmanerassa patthanam sutvā: esa mayā payojito pi tāva evam pattheti, mayham kim na samijjhissatîti cintetvā: Yāvâham nibbānam pāpunāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattatthāne ayam Gangāūmivego viya akkhayapatibhāno bhaveyyam, iminā pucchitapucchitam sabbam panhapatibhanam vijatetum nibbethetum samattho bhaveyyan ti patthanam patthapesi. Te ubho pi devesu ca manussesu ca samsarantā ekam buddhantaram khepesum. Atha amhākam Bhagavatā pi yathā Moggaliputta-Tissatthero dissati evam ete pi dissanti: Mama parinibbanato pancavassasate atikkante ete uppajjissanti, yam mayā sukhumam katvā desitam dhammavinayam tam ete panhapucchana-opammayutti-vasena nijjatam niggumbam katvā vibhajissantīti nidditthā.

Tesu sāmaņero Jambudīpe Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rājā ahosi, paņdito byatto medhāvī paṭibalo, atī-tânāgata-paccuppannānam samantayogavidhānakiriyānam karaṇakāle nisammakārī hoti; bahūni c' assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathîdam: suti sammuti sankhyā yogā nīti visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikicchā cātubbedā purāṇā itihāsā jotisā māyā hetu mantaṇā yuddhā chandasā muddā,

bhaveyyam akkhayap, bhaveyyanti AC.
 30 sankhā A.
 31 ganitā AC.
 32 jotiyā D, jotisana B, joti M.
 32 chandāsā AC, chandasa B.

vacanena ekūnavīsati; vādī durāsado duppasaho, puthutitthakarānam aggam akkhāyati; sakala-Jambudīpe Milindena raññā samo koci nâhosi, yad idam thāmena javena sūriyena paññāya, addho mahaddhano mahābhogo, anantabalayāhano.

Ath' ekadivasam Milindo rājā anantabalavāhanam caturanginim balaggasenābyūham dassanakamyatāya nagarā nikkhamitvā bahinagare senāgananam kāretvā so rājā bhassappavādako lokāyata-vitaņda-janasallāpa-ppavattakotūhalo surivam oloketvā amacce āmantesi: Bahu tāva divasāvaseso, kim karissāma idān' eva nagaram pavisitvā; atthi koci pandito samano vā brāhmano vā sanghī ganī ganācariyo, api arahantam sammāsambuddham patijānamāno, yo mayā saddhim sallapitum sakkoti kankham pativinetun-ti. Evam vutte pancasatā Yonakā rājānam Milindam etad avocum: Atthi mahārāja cha sattharo: Pūrano Kassapo, Makkhali Gosalo, Nigantho Nātaputto, Sanjayo Belatthaputto, Ajito Kesakambalī, Pakudho Kaccayano, te sanghino ganino ganacariyaka ñata yasassino titthakarā, sādhusammatā bahujanassa, gaccha tvam mahārāja, te pañham pucchassu kankham pativinavassûti.

Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcahi Yonakasatehi parivuto bhadravāhanam rathavaram āruyha yena Pūrano Kassapo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Pūranena Kassapena saddhim sammodi, sammodanīyam katham sārānīyam vītisāretvā ekamantam nisīdi. Ekamantam nisinno kho Milindo rājā Pūranam Kassapam etad avoca: Ko bhante Kassapa lokam pāletîti. Pathavī mahārāja lokam pāletîti. — Yadi bhante Kassapa pathavī lokam pāleti atha kasmā Avīcinirayam gacchantā sattā pathavim

⁴ suriyena AaC, sūrena Ab, surena DM. ⁷ caturanginī B. ¹⁷ Purāņo all throughout. ¹⁸ Nātha- A. Nāṭa- M. ¹⁸ Belaṭṭhiputto ACD. ¹⁹ Ka-kudho BC.

atikkamitvā gacchantîti. — Evam vutte Pūraņo Kassapo n'eva sakkhi ogilitum n'eva sakkhi uggilitum, pattak-khandho tunhībhūto pajjhāyanto nisīdi.

Atha kho Milindo rājā Makkhali-Gosālam etad-avoca: Atthi bhante Gosāla kusalākusalāni kammāni, atthi sukata dukkatānam kammānam phalam vipāko ti. tthi mahārāja kusalākusalāni kammāni, na tthi sukatadukkatānam kammānam phalam vipāko, ve te mahārāja idhaloke khattiyā te paralokam gantvā pi puna khattiyā va bhavissanti, ye te brāhmanā vessā suddā candālā pukkusā te paralokam gantvā pi puna brāhmanā vessā suddā candālā pukkusā va bhavissanti, kim kusalākusalehi kammehîti. — Yadi bhante Gosāla idhaloke khattiyā brāhmanā vessā suddā caņdālā pukkusā paralokam gantvā pi puna khattiyā brāhmanā vessā suddā candālā pukkusā va bhavissanti, na tthi kusalākusalehi kammehi karanīyam; tena hi bhante Gosāla ve te idhaloke hatthacchinnā te paralokam gantvā pi puna hatthacchinnā va bhavissanti, ye pādacchinnā te pādacchinnā va bhavissanti, ye kannanāsacchinnā te kannanāsacchinnā va bhavissantîti. — Evam vutte Gosalo tunhī ahosi.

Atha kho Milindassa rañño etad ahosi: Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na tthi koci samaņo vā brāhmaņo vā yo mayā saddhim sallapitum sakkoti kankham paṭivinetun ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā amacce āmantesi: Ramaṇīyā vata bho dosinā ratti, kan nu khv ajja samaṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā upasankameyyāma pañham pucchitum, ko mayā saddhim sallapitum sakkoti kankham paṭivinetun ti. Evam vutte amaccā tunhībhūtā rañño mukham olokayamānā atthamsu.

Tena kho pana samayena Sāgalanagaram dvādasa vassāni suññam ahosi samaņa-brāhmaņa-gahapati-paņ-ditehi; yattha samaņa-brāhmaņa-gahapati-paņditā paṭi-vasantîti suņāti tattha gantvā rājā te pañham pucchati;

te sabbe pi pañhavissajjanena rājānam ārādhetum asakkontā yena vā tena vā pakkamanti, ye aññam disam na pakkamanti te sabbe tunhībhūta acchanti. Bhikkhū pana yebhuyyena Himavantam - eva gacchanti.

Tena kho pana samayena kotisatā arahanto Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale pativasanti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto dibbāya sotadhātuyā Milindassa rañño vacanam sutvā Yugandharamatthake bhikkhusangham sannipātetvā bhikkhū pucchi: Atth' āvuso koci bhikkhu paţibalo Milindena raññā saddhim sallapitum kankham paţivinetun ti. Evam vutte kotisatā arahanto tunhī ahesum. Dutiyam pi kho tatiyam pi kho putthā tunhī ahesum. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhikkhusangham etad - avoca: Atth' āvuso Tāvatimsabhavane Vejayantassa pācīnato Ketumatī nāma vimānam, tattha Mahāseno nāma devaputto pativasati, so patibalo tena Milindena rañña saddhim sallapitum kankham pativinetun ti. Atha kho kotisatā arahanto Yugandharapabbate antarahitā Tāvatimsabhavane pāturahesum.

Addasā kho Sakko devānam indo te bhikkhū dūrato va āgacchante, disvāna yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā ekamantam atthāsi. Ekamantam thito kho Sakko devānam indo āyasmantam Assaguttam etad avoca: Mahā kho bhante bhikkhusangho anuppatto, aham sanghassa ārāmiko, ken' attho, kim mayā karanīyan ti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto Sakkam devānam indam etad avoca: Ayam kho mahārāja Jambudīpe Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rājā, vādī durāsado duppasaho, puthutitthakarānam aggam akkhāyati, so bhikkhusangham upasankamitvā ditthivādena panham pucchitvā bhikkhusangham vihethetîti. Atha kho Sakko devanam indo āyasmantam Assaguttam etad-avoca: Ayam kho bhante Milindo rājā ito cuto manussesu uppanno; eso kho bhante Ketumatīvimāne Mahāseno nāma devaputto pativasati, so tena Milindena raññā saddhim paṭibalo sallapitum kankham paṭivinetum, tam devaputtam yācissāma manussalokūpapattiyā ti.

Atha kho Sakko devanam indo bhikkhusangham purakkhatvā Ketumatīvimānam pavisitvā Mahāsenam devaputtam ālingitvā etad avoca: Yācati tam mārisa bhikkhusangho manussalokūpapattivā ti. -- Na me bhante manussaloken' attho kammabahulena, tibbo manussaloko, idh' evâham bhante devaloke uparūparuppattiko hutvā Dutiyam pi kho tatiyam pi kho parinibbāvissāmîti. Sakke devānam inde yācante Mahāseno devaputto evam āha: Na me bhante manussaloken' attho kammabahulena, tibbo manussaloko, idh' evâham bhante devaloke uparūparuppattiko hutvā parinibbāyissāmîti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto Mahāsenam devaputtam etad avoca: Idha mayam mārisa sadevakam lokam anuvilokayamānā añnatra taya Milindassa rañno vadam bhinditva sasanam paggahetum samattham annam kanci na passama, yacati tam mārisa bhikkhusangho: sādhu sappurisa, manussaloke pagganhitvā dehîti. nibbattitvā Dasabalassa sāsanam Evam vutte Mahāseno devaputto: aham kira Milindassa rañño vādam bhinditvā sāsanam paggahetum samattho bhavissāmîti hatthatuttho udaggudaggo hutvā: Sādhu bhante, manussaloke uppajjissāmīti patinnam adāsi.

Atha kho te bhikkhū devaloke tam karanīyam tīretvā devesu Tāvatimsesu antarahitā Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale pāturahesum. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhikkhusangham etad avoca: Atth' āvuso imasmim bhikkhusanghe koci bhikkhu sannipātam anāgato ti. Evam vutte aññataro bhikkhu āyasmantam Assaguttam etad avoca: Atthi bhante, āyasmā Rohano ito sattame divase

⁹ uparüparupapattiko D, uparüpariupappattiko M, either time. 11 Sakko devānamindo all. 18 kiñci all. 20 pagganhāhîti M.

Himavantam pabbatam pavisitvā nirodham samāpanno. tassa santike dūtam pāhethâti. Avasmā pi Rohano tam khanan-neva nirodha vutthaya: sangho mam patimānetîti Himavante pabbate antarahito Rakkhitatale kotisatānam arahantānam purato pāturahosi. Atha kho āvasmā Assagutto āyasmantam Rohanam etad-avoca: Kin-nu kho āvuso Rohana buddhasāsane palujjante na passasi sanghassa karanīyānîti. --- Amanasikāro me bhante ahosîti. - Tena h' āvuso Rohana dandakammam karohîti. - Kim bhante karomîti. - Atth' avuso Rohana Hima-Kajangalan - nāma brāhmanagāmo, vantapabbatapasse tattha Sonuttaro nāma brāhmano pativasati, tassa putto uppajjissati Nāgaseno nāma dārako; tena hi tvam āvuso Rohana dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni tam kulam pindāya pavisa, piņdāya pavisitvā Nāgasenam dārakam nīharitvā pabbājehi, pabbajite ca tasmim dandakammato muccissasîti āha. Ayasmā pi kho Rohano: sādhûti sampaticchi.

Mahāseno pi kho devaputto devalokā cavitvā Soņuttarabrāhmaņassa bhariyāya kucchismim paţisandhim aggahesi. Saha paţisandhigahanā tayo acchariyā abbhutā dhammā pāturahesum: āvudhabhandāni pajjalimsu, aggasassam abhinipphannam, mahāmegho abhippavassi. Ayasmā pi kho Rohano tassa paţisandhigahanato paṭṭhāya dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni tam kulam pindāya pavisanto ekadivasam pi kaṭacchumattam bhattam vā ulunkamattam yāgum vā abhivādanam vā añjalikammam vā sāmīcikammam vā nâlattha, atha kho akkosañ ñeva paṭilabhati, aticchatha bhante ti vacanamattam pi vattā nāma nāhosi. Dasamāsādhikānam pana sattannam vassānam accayena ekadivasam aticchatha bhante ti vacanamattam alattha. Tam divasam eva ca brāhmano pi

²⁸ akkosanceva paribhāsanceva B.

bahikammantā āgacchanto patipathe theram disvā: Kim bho pabbajita amhākam geham agamatthâti āha. — Ama brāhmana, agamambâti. — Api kiñci labhitthâti. — Ama brāhmana, labhimhâti. So anattamano geham gantvā pucchi: Tassa pabbajitassa kiñci adatthâti. — Na kiñci adamhâti.

Brāhmano dutivadivase gharadvāre yeva nisīdi: ajja pabbajitam musāvādena niggahessāmîti. Thero dutivadivase brāhmanassa gharadvāram sampatto; brāhmano theram disvā va evam-āha: Tumhe hiyyo amhākam gehe kiñci alabhitvā yeva labhimbâti avocuttha, vattati nu kho tumhākam musāvādo ti. Thero āha: Mayam brāhmana tumhākam gehe dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni aticchathâti vacanamattam - pi alabhitvā hiyyo aticchathâti vacanamattam alabhimha, ath' etam vacīpatisanthāram upādāya evam - avocumhâti. Brāhmano cintesi; ime vācāpatisanthāramattam - pi labhitvā janamajjhe labhimhâti pasamsanti, aññam kiñci khādaniyam vā bhojaniyam vā labhitvā kasmā na ppasamsantīti pasīditvā attano atthāya patiyaditabhattato katacchubhikkham tadupiyan - ca byanjanam dapetva: Imam bhikkham sabbakalam tumhe la-So punadivasato ppabhuti upasankabhissathâti āha. mantassa therassa upasamam disvā bhiyyosomattāya pasīditvā theram niccakālam attano ghare bhattavissaggakaranatthāya yāci. Thero tunhībhāvena adhivāsetvā divase divase bhattakiccam katvā gacchanto thokam thokam buddhavacanam kathetvā gacchati.

Sā pi kho brāhmaṇī dasamāsaccayena puttam vijāyi, Nāgaseno ti 'ssa nāmam ahosi. So anukkamena vaddhanto sattavassiko jāto. Atha kho Nāgasenassa dārakassa pitā Nāgasenam dārakam etad-avoca: Imasmim

² āgamatthâti DM. ³ āgam- CDM. ⁹ sampatte AD (perhaps to be read there . . . sampatte). ¹⁰ va om. D. ¹⁵ vacanapatisanthāramattam AD. ²⁶ thokathokam B.

kho tāta Nāgasena brāhmanakule sikkhāni sikkheyyāsîti. - Katamāni tāta imasmim brāhmanakule sikkhāni nāmâti. - Tayo kho tāta Nāgasena vedā sikkhāni nāma, avasesāni sippāni sippam nāmâti. - Tena hi tāta sikkhissāmîti. — Atha kho Sonuttaro brāhmano ācariyabrāhmanassa ācariyabhāgam sahassam datvā antopāsāde ekasmim gabbhe ekato mañcakam paññāpetvā ācariyabrāhmanam etadavoca: Sajjhāyāpehi kho tvam brāhmana imam dārakam mantānîti. Tena hi tāta dāraka ugganhāhi mantānîti ācariyabrāhmano sajjhāyati. Nāgasenassa dārakassa eken' eva uddesena tayo vedā hadayangatā vācuggatā sūpadhāritā suvavatthāpitā sumanasikatā ahesum, sakim eva udapādi tīsu vedesu sa-nighandu-ketubhesu sākkharappabhedesu itihāsapañcamesu, padako veyyākarano lokāyata-mahāpurisalakkhanesu anavayo ahosi. Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako pitaram etad-avoca: Atthi nu kho tāta imasmim brāhmanakule ito uttarim pi sikkhitabbāni, udāhu ettakān' evâti. - Na-tthi tāta Nāgasena imasmim brāhmanakule ito uttarim sikkhitabbāni, ettakān' eva sikkhitabbānîti. - Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako ācariyassa anuyogam datvā pāsādā oruyha pubbavāsanāya coditahadayo rahogato patisallīno attano sippassa ādi-majjhapariyosānam olokento ādimhi vā majjhe vā pariyosāne vā appamattakam pi sāram adisvā: tucchā vata bho ime vedā, palāpā vata bho ime vedā, asārā nissārā ti vippatisārī anattamano ahosi.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Rohaņo Vattaniye senāsane nisinno Nāgasenassa dārakassa cetasā cetoparivitakkam aññāya nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya Vattaniye senāsane antarahito Kajangala-brāhmaṇagāmassa purato pāturahosi. Addasā kho Nāgaseno dārako attano dvārakotthake thito āyasmantam Rohaṇam dūrato va āgacchantam, disvāna attamano udaggo pamudito pītisomanassajāto: app eva nāmâyam pabbajito kadāci sāram jāneyyâti yen āyasmā Rohaņo ten upasankami, upasankamitvā

āyasmantam Rohanam etad-avoca: Ko nu kho tvam mārisa, ediso bhandu kāsāvavasano ti. - Pabbajito nāmâham dārakâti. - Kena tvam mārisa pabbajito nāmâsîti. — Pāpakānam malānam pabbajetum pabbajito, tasmā 'ham dāraka pabbajito nāmâti. - Kinkāranā mārisa kesā te na vathā añnesan ti. — Solas' ime dāraka palibodhe disvā kesamassum ohāretvā pabbajito, katame solasa: alankārapalibodho mandanapalibodho telamakkhanapalibodho dhovanapalibodho mālāpalibodho gandhanapalibodho vāsanapalibodho haritakapalibodho amalakapalibodho rangapalibodho bandhanapalibodho kocchapalibodho kappakapalibodho vijatanapalibodho ūkāpalibodho, kesesu vilūnesu socanti kilamanti paridevanti urattālim kandanti sammoham āpajjanti, imesu kho dāraka soļasa-palibodhesu paliguņthitā manussā sabbāni atisukhumāni sippāni nāsentîti. — Kinkāraņā mārisa vatthāni pi te na yathā aññesan ti. -Kāmanissitāni kho dāraka vatthāni kamanīyāni gihibyañjanāni, yāni kānici kho bhayāni vatthato uppajjanti tāni kāsāvavasanassa na honti, tasmā vatthāni pi me na yathā aññesan ti. — Jānāsi kho tvam mārisa sippāni nāmâti. -- Ama dāraka, jānām' aham sippāni, yam loke uttamam mantam tam pi janamîti. - Mayham pi tam marisa dātum sakkā ti. - Āma dāraka, sakkā ti. - Tena hi me dehîti. - Akalo kho daraka, antaragharam pindāya pavitth' amhâti.

Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako āyasmato Rohaņassa hatthato pattam gahetvā gharam pavesetvā paņītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā āyasmantam Rohaņam bhuttāvim onītapattapāņim etad avoca: Dehi me dāni mārisa mantan ti. — Yadā kho tvam dāraka nippalibodho hutvā mātāpitaro anujānāpetvā mayā gahitam pabbajitavesam gaņhissasi tadā dassāmîti āha. Atha kho

³ nāma sîti C. 9 gandhapali- M. 14 solasasu M. 28 dātum sakko all.

Nagaseno darako matapitaro upasankamitya aha: Amma tāta, ayam pabbajito: yam loke uttamam mantam tam jānāmîti vadati, na ca attano santike apabbajitassa deti, aham etassa santike pabbajitvā tam mantam ugganhis-Ath' assa mātāpitaro: pabbajitvā pi no putto mantam ganhātu, gahetvā pun' āgacchatîti mañnamānā: Ganha puttâti anujānimsu. Atha kho āyasmā Rohano Nāgasenam dārakam ādāya yena Vattaniyam senāsanam yena Vijambhavatthu ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Vijambhavatthusmim senāsane ekarattim vasitvā vena Rakkhitatalam ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā kotisatānam arahantānam majjhe Nāgasenam dārakam pabbā-Pabbajito ca pan' āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam iesi. Rohanam etad-avoca: Gahito me bhante tava veso, detha me dani mantan ti. Atha kho avasma Rohano: kimhi nu kho 'ham Nagasenam pathamam vineyyam, Suttante vā Abhidhamme vā ti cintetvā: pandito kho ayam Nāgaseno, sakkoti sukhen' eva Abhidhammam pariyāpunitun ti pathamam Abhidhamme vinesi. Ayasmā ca Nāgaseno: kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākatā dhammā ti tika-duka-patimanditam Dhammasanganim, khandhavibhangādi-atthārasa-vibhanga-patimanditam Vibhangappakaranam, sangaho asangaho ti-ādinā cuddasavidhena vibhattam Dhatukathapakaranam, khandhapaññatti-āyatanapaññattîti-ādinā chabbidhena vibhattam Puggalapaññattim, sakavāde pañca suttasatāni paravāde pañca suttasatānîti suttasahassam samodhānetvā vibhattam Kathavatthuppakaranam, mulayamakam khandhayamakan ti-ādinā dasavidhena vibhattam Yamakam, hetuārammanapaccayo ti-ādinā catuvīsatividhena Patthanappakaranan - ti sabban - tam vibhattam dhammapitakam eken' eva sajjhāyena paguņam katvā:

^{- 1} Dhatukathappakaranam AC.

Titthatha bhante, na puna osāretha, ettaken' evâham sajjhāyissāmîti āha.

Ath' āyasmā Nāgaseno yena kotisatā arahanto ten' upasankami, upasankamityā kotisatānam arahantānam etad avoca: Aham kho bhante kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākatā dhammā ti imesu tīsu padesu pakkhipitvā sabban tam Abhidhammapitakam vitthārena osāressāmîti. - Sādhu Nāgasena, osārehîti. - Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno satta māsāni satta ppakarane vitthārena osāresi; pathavī unnadi, devatā sādhukāram - adamsu, brahmāno apphotesum, dibbāni candanacunnāni dibbāni ca mandāravapupphāni abhippavassimsu. Atha kho kotisatā arahanto āyasmantam Nāgasenam paripunnavīsativassam Rakkhitatale upasampādesum. Upasampanno ca pan' āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā rattiyā accayena pubbanhasamayam nivāsetvā pattacīvaram - ādāya upajjhāyena saddhim gāmam pindāya pavisanto evarūpam parivitakkam uppādesi: tuccho vata me upajihāyo, bālo vata me upajjhāyo, thapetvā avasesam buddhavacanam pathamam mam Abhidhamme vinesîti. Atha kho āyasmā Rohano āyasmato Nāgasenassa cetasā cetoparivitakkam - aññāya āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad-avoca: Ananucchaviyam kho Nāgasena parivitakkam vitakkesi, na kho pan' etam Nagasena tavânucchaviyan - ti. Atha kho āyasmato Nāgasenassa etadahosi: acchariyam vata bho, abbhutam vata bho, yatra hi nāma me upajjhāyo cetasā cetoparivitakkam jānissati, pandito vata me upajjhāyo, yan nūnaham upajjhāyam khamāpeyyan ti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Rohanam etad-avoca: Khamatha me bhante, na puna evarūpam vitakkessāmîti.

Atha kho āyasmā Rohaņo āyasmantam Nāgasenam

 $^{^{11}}$ apphothesum D. appothesum ABC. 15 pubbanha- all throughout except B.

etad - avoca: Na kho tyāham Nāgasena ettāvatā khamāmi, atthi kho Nagasena Sagalam nama nagaram, tattha Milindo nāma rājā rajjam kāreti, so ditthivādena panham pucchitvā bhikkhusangham. vihetheti, sace tvam tattha gantvā tam rājānam dametvā pasādessasi evahan tam khamissāmîti. - Titthatu bhante eko Milindo rājā, sace bhante sakala-Jambudīpe sabbe rājāno āgantvā mam pañham puccheyyum sabban tam vissajjetvā sampadālessāmi. khamatha me bhante ti vatvā: Na khamāmîti vutte: Tena hi bhante imam temāsam kassa santike vasissāmîti āha. - Ayam kho Nāgasena āyasmā Assagutto Vattaniye senāsane viharati, gaccha tvam Nāgasena, yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankama, upasankamitvā mama vacanena āyasmato Assaguttassa pāde sirasā vanda, evañ - ca nam vadehi: upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākam pāde sirasā vandati, appābādham appātankam lahutthānam balam phāsuvihāram pucchati, imam temāsam tumhākam santike vasitum mam pahinîti; konāmo te upajjhāyo ti ca vutte: Rohanatthero nāma bhante ti vadeyyāsi; aham konāmo ti ca vutte evam vadeyyāsi: mama upajjhāyo bhante tumhākam nāmam jānātîti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Rohanam abhivādetvā padakkhinam katvā pattacīvaram - ādāya anupubbena cārikam caramāno yena Vattaniyam senāsanam yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā ekamantam atthāsi. Ekamantam thito kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Assaguttam etadavoca: Upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākam pāde sirasā vandati, evañ - ca vadeti: appābādham appātankam lahutthānam balam phāsuvihāram pucchati, upajjhāyo mam bhante imam temāsam tumhākam santike vasitum pahinîti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad - avoca:

¹⁸ ca om. BCM.

Tvam kinnāmo 'sîti. — Aham bhante Nāgaseno nāmâti. — Konāmo te upajjhāyo ti. — Upajjhāyo me bhante Rohanatthero nāmàti. — Aham konāmo 'ti. — Upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākam nāmam jānātîti. — Sādhu Nāgasena, pattacīvaram paṭisāmehîti. — Sādhu bhante ti paṭtacīvaram paṭisāmetvā punadivase parivenam sammajjitvā mukhodakam dantapoṇam upaṭṭhāpesi. Thero sammaṭtaṭṭhānam paṭisammajji, tam udakam chaddetvā aññam udakam āhari, tañ ca dantakaṭṭham apanetvā aññam dantakaṭṭham gaṇhi, na allāpasallāpam akāsi. Evam satta divasāni katvā sattame divase puna pucchitvā puna tena tath' eva vutte vassāvāsam anujāni.

Tena kho pana samayena ekā mahāupāsikā āyasmantam Assaguttam timsamattani vassani upatthasi. Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā temāsaccayena yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Assaguttam etad - avoca: Atthi nu kho tāta tumhākam santike añño bhikkhûti. — Atthi mahāupāsike amhākam santike Nāgaseno nāma bhikkhûti. - Tena hi tāta Assagutta adhivāsehi Nāgasenena saddhim svātanāya bhattan ti. -Adhivāsesi kho āyasmā Assagutto tunhībhāvena. kho āyasmā Assagutto tassā rattivā accayena pubbanhasamayam nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya āyasmatā Nāgasenena saddhim pacchāsamaņena yena mahāupāsikāya nivesanam ten' upasankami, upasankamitya pannatte asane Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā āyasmantam Assanisīdi. guttam āyasmantañ - ca Nāgasenam panītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhuttāvī onītapattapāņi āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad avoca: Tvam Nāgasena mahāupāsikāya anumodanam karohîti. Idam vatva utthay' asana pakkami.

⁷ sammaddhatthänam B, sammatthatthänam Ca, sammajjatthänam DM, sammajjanatthänam ACb. ²⁷ äyasmantañca Nägasenañca BC, äyasmantam Nägasenañca A.

Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā āyasmantam Nāgasenam etadavoca: Mahallikā kho 'ham tāta Nāgasena, gambhīrāya dhammakathāya mayham anumodanam karohîti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā mahāupāsikāya gambhīrāya Abhidhammakathāya lokuttarāya suññatāpatisamyuttāya anumodanam akāsi. Atha kho tassā mahāupāsikāya tasmim yeva āsane virajam vītamalam dhammacakkhum udapādi: yam kiñci samudayadhammam sabban tam nirodhadhamman ti. Āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno tassā mahāupāsikāya anumodanam katvā attanā desitam dhammam paccavekkhanto vipassanam paṭṭhapetvā tasmim yeva āsane nisinno sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāsi.

Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto mandalamāļe nisinno va dvinnam - pi dhammacakkhupatilābham natvā sādhukāram pavattesi: Sādhu sādhu Nāgasena, ekena kandappahārena dve mahākāyā padālitā ti. Anekāni ca devatāsahassāni sādhukāram pavattesum. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno utthāy' āsanā yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā abhivādetvā āvasmantam Assaguttam ekamantam nisīdi. Ekamantam nisinnam kho āvasmantam Nāgasenam āvasmā Assagutto etad avoca: Gaccha tvam Nāgasena Pātaliputtam, Pātaliputtanagare Asokārāme āyasmā Dhammarakkhito pativasati, tassa santike buddhavacanam pariyapunahîti. — Kīva dure bhante ito Pātaliputtanagaran ti. — Yojanasatāni kho Nāgasenâti. - Dūro kho bhante maggo, antarāmagge bhikkhā dullabhā, kathâham gamissāmîti. - Gaccha tvam Nāgasena, antarāmagge pindapātam labhissasi, sālīnam odanam vicitakāļakam anekasūpam anekabyanjanan ti. - Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā padakkhinam katvā pattacīvaram - ādāya yena Pātaliputtam tena cārikam pakkāmi.

⁷ ñeva B. 24 duro ABCD. 25 Tiyojanasatāni should probably be the reading.

Tena kho pana samayena Pātaliputtako setthi pañcahi sakatasatehi Pātaliputtagāmimaggam patipanno hoti. Addasā kho Pātaliputtako setthi āyasmantam Nāgasenam dūrato va agacchantam, disvana panca sakatasatani patipanāmetvā yen' āyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam abhivādetvā: Kuhim gacchasi tātàti āha. - Pātaliputtam gahapatîti. - Sādhu tāta, mayam pi Pātaliputtam gacchāma, amhehi saddhim sukham gacchathâti. - Atha kho Pātaliputtako setthi āyasmato Nāgasenassa iriyāpathe pasīditvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam panītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam bhuttāvim onītapattapānim añnataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantam nisīdi. Ekamantam nisinno kho Pātaliputtako setthi āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad - avoca: Kinnāmo si tvam tātâti. — Aham gahapati Nāgaseno nāmati. — Janasi kho tvam tata buddhavacanam namati. - Jānāmi kho 'ham gahapati Abhidhammapadānîti. -Lābhā no tāta, suladdham no tāta, aham pi kho tāta ābhidhammiko tvam - pi ābhidhammiko, bhana tāta Abhidhammapadānîti. — Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno Pātaliputtakassa setthissa Abhidhammam desesi, desente desente yeva Pāṭaliputtakassa seṭṭhissa virajam vītamalam dhammacakkhum udapādi: yam kinci samudayadhammam sabban - tam nirodhadhamman - ti. Atha kho Pāţaliputtako setthi pañcamattāni sakatasatāni purato uyyojetvā sayam pacchato gacchanto Pātaliputtassa avidūre dvedhāpathe thatvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad-avoca: Ayam kho tāta Nāgasena Asokārāmassa maggo; imam kho tāta mayham kambalaratanam solasahattham āyāmena atthahattham vitthārena, patiganhāhi kho tāta imam kambalara-

¹³ onītapattapānim disvā M. ²⁰ abhidhammiko ACM the first time, CM the second. ²⁰ bhanatha ACbM. ²³ desente once CD. ²⁹ idam AC.

tanam anukampam upādāyâti. Paṭiggahesi kho āyasmā Nāgaseno tam kambalaratanam anukampam upādāya. Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako seṭṭhi attamano udaggo pamuditahadayo pītisomanassajāto āyasmantam Nāgasenam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pakkāmi.

Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno yena Asokārāmo yen' āyasmā Dhammarakkhito ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Dhammarakkhitam abhivādetvā attano āgatakāraņam kathetvā āyasmato Dhammarakkhitassa santike tepitakam buddhavacanam eken' eva uddesena tīhi māsehi byanjanato pariyapunitva puna tihi masehi atthato manasākāsi. Atha kho āyasmā Dhammarakkhito' āyasmantam Nagasenam etad-avoca: Seyyatha pi Nagasena gopālako gāvo rakkhati, añne gorasam paribhunjanti, evam - eva kho tvam Nāgasena tepiṭakam buddhavacanam dhārento pi na bhāgī sāmaññassâti. - Hotu bhante, alam ettakenâti ten' eva divasabhāgena tena rattibhāgena saha patisambhidahi arahattam papuni. Saha saccapativedhena āyasmato Nāgasenassa sabbe devā sādhukāram adamsu, pathavī unnadi, brahmāno apphotesum, dibbāni candanacunnāni c' eva dibbāni ca mandāravapupphāni abhippavassimsu.

Tena kho pana samayena kotisatā arahanto Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale sannipatitvā āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtam pāhesum: āgacchatu Nāgaseno, dassanakāmā mayam Nāgasenan ti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno dūtassa vacanam sutvā Asokārāme antarahito Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale kotisatānam arahantānam purato pāturahosi. Atha kho kotisatā arahanto āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad avocum: Eso kho Nāgasena Milindo rājā bhikkhusangham vihetheti vādapativādena pañhapucchāya; sādhu Nāgasena, gaccha tvam Milindam

²⁰ appothesum ABCD. 21 mandarapupphani C

rājānam damehîti. — Tiṭṭhatu bhante eko Milindo rājā, sace bhante sakala-Jambudīpe rājāno āgantvā mam pañ-ham puccheyyum sabban tam vissajjetvā sampadālessāmi, gacchatha vo bhante asambhītā Sāgalanagaran ti. — Atha kho therā bhikkhū Sāgalanagaram kāsāvapajjotam isivātaparivātam akamsu.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Ayupālo Sankheyyaparivene pativasati. Atha kho Milindo rājā amacce etad - avoca: Ramanīyā vata bho dosinā ratti, kan - nu khv-ajja samanam vā brāhmanam vā upasankameyyāma sākacchāya pañhapucchanāya, ko mayā saddhim sallapitum ussahati kankham pativinetun-ti. Evam vutte pañcasatā Yonakā rājānam Milindam etad avocum: Atthi mahārāja Āyupālo nāma thero tepitako bahussuto āgatāgamo, so etarahi Sankheyyaparivene pativasati, gaccha tvam mahārāja, āyasmantam Āyupālam panham pucchassûti. - Tena hi bhane bhadantassa ārocethâti. - Atha kho nemittiko ayasmato Ayupalassa santike dutam pahesi: rājā bhante Milindo ayasmantam Ayupalam dassanakāmo ti. Ayasmā pi kho Ayupalo evam āha: Tena hi āgacchatûti. Atha kho Milindo rājā pancamattehi Yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaram - āruyha yena Sankheyyaparivenam yen' ayasma Ayupalo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā ayasmatā Ayupālena saddhim sammodi, sammodanīyam katham sārānīyam vītisāretvā ekamantam nisīdi. Ekamantam nisinno kho Milindo rāja āyasmantam Ayupālam etad avoca: Kimatthiyā bhante Ayupāla tumhākam pabbajjā, ko ca tumhākam paramattho ti. — Thero āha: Dhammacariyasamacariyatthā kho mahārāja pabbajjā ti. — Atthi pana bhante koci gihī pi dhammacārī samacārī ti. — Āma mahārāja, atthi gihī pi dhammacāri samacārī. Bhagavati kho mahārāja Bārāna-

⁹ kinnu CDM. 18 nemittako DM. 32 bhagavatā ABCD.

siyam Isipatane migadaye dhammacakkam pavattente atthārasannam brahmakotīnam dhammābhisamayo ahosi, devatānam pana dhammābhisamayo gananapatham vītivatto; sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā. Puna ca param mahārāja Bhagavatā Mahāsamayasuttante desiyamāne, Mahāmangalasuttante desiyamāne, Samacittapariyāyasuttante desiyamāne, Rāhulovādasuttante desiyamāne, Parābhavasuttante desiyamāne gananapatham - atītānam devatānam dhammābhisamayo ahosi; sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā ti. — Tena hi bhante Ayupāla niratthikā tumhākam pabbajjā, pubbe katassa pāpakammassa nissandena samanā Sakyaputtiyā pabbajanti dhutangāni ca pariharanti. Ye kho te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū ekāsanikā nūna te pubbe paresam bhogahārakā corā, te paresam bhoge acchinditvā tassa kammassa nissandena etarahi ekāsanikā bhavanti, na labhanti kālena kālam paribhuñjitum, na - tthi tesam sīlam, na tthi tapo, na tthi brahmacariyam. kho pana te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū abbhokāsikā nūna te pubbe gāmaghātakā corā, te paresam gehāni vināsetvā tassa kammassa nissandena etarahi abbhokāsikā bhavanti, na labhanti senāsanāni paribhunjitum, na tthi tesam sīlam, na-tthi tapo, na-tthi brahmacariyam. pana te bhante Ayupāla bhikkhū nesajjikā nūna te pubbe panthadūsakā corā, te panthike jane gahetvā bandhitvā nisīdāpetvā tassa kammassa nissandena etarahi nesajjikā bhavanti, na labhanti seyyam kappetum, na tthi tesam sīlam, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyan - ti āha.

Evam vutte āyasmā Āyupālo tunhī ahosi, na kiñci patibhāsi. Atha kho pañcasatā Yonakā rājānam Milindam etad avocum: Paṇḍito mahārāja thero, api ca kho avisārado na kiñci paṭibhāsatîti. Atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantam Āyupālam tunhībhūtam disvā apphotetvā

²³ pana om. ABC. ³² apphothetvā C, appothetvā AB.

ukkuṭṭhim katvā Yonake etad avoca: Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na tthi koci samaņo vā brāhmaņo vā yo mayā saddhim sallapitum ussahati kankham paṭivinetun ti. Atha kho Milindassa rañno sabban tam parisam anuvilokentassa abhīte amankubhūte Yonake disvā etad ahosi: nissamsayam atthi mañne añno koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhim sallapitum ussahati, yen' ime Yonakā na mankubhūtā ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā Yonake etad avoca: Atthi bhaņe añno koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhim sallapitum ussahati kankham pativinetum ti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno samanaganaparivuto sanghī ganī ganācariyo ñāto yasassī sādhusammato bahujanassa pandito byatto medhāvī nipuno viññū vibhāvī vinīto visārado bahussuto tepitako vedagū pabhinnabuddhimā āgatāgamo pabhinnapatisambhido navangasatthusāsana-pariyattidharo pāramippatto dhammattha-desanā-pativedha-kusalo akkhayavicitra-patibhāno citrakathī kalyānavākkarano durāsado duppasaho duruttaro durāvaraņo dunnivārayo, sāgaro viya akkhobbho, girirājā viya niccalo, rananjaho tamonudo pabhankaro, mahākathī paraganigana-mathano paratitthiya-maddano, bhikkhūnam bhikkhunīnam upāsakānam upāsikānam rājūnam rājamahāmattānam sakkato garukato mānito pūjito apacito, lābhī cīvara-piņdapāta-senāsanagilānappaccayabhesajja-parikkhārānam lābhagga-yasaggappatto, buddhānam viññūnam sotāvadhānena samannāgatānam sandassento navangam jinasāsanaratanam, upadisanto dhammamaggam, dharento dhammapajjotam, ussapento dhammayupam, yajanto dhammayagam, pagganhāpento dhammaddhajam, ussāpento dhammaketum, uppalāsento dhammasankham, āhananto dhammabherim, nadanto

⁶ nissamsayam kho atthi A. ²¹ rananjaho viya Bb. ²² paratithiya-ppamaddano AC, ²⁸ uddisanto D, upadassento M. ¹⁹ dhammakhaggam AaBCD. ³⁰ uppaläpento ACD, upadassento M.

sīhanādam, gajjanto indagajjitam, madhura-gira-gajjitena ñāṇavaravijjujāla-parivethitena karuṇājala-bharitena mahatā dhammāmata-meghena sakalalokam abhitappayanto, gāma-nigama-rājadhānīsu cārikam caramāno anupubbena Sāgalanagaram anuppatto hoti. Tatra sudam āyasmā Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahassehi saddhim Sankheyyaparivene pativasati. Ten'āhu:

Bahussuto citrakathī nipuņo ca visārado sāmāyiko ca kusalo paţibhāne ca kovido.

Te ca tepiṭakā bhikkhū pañcanekāyikā pi ca catunekāyikā c' eva Nāgasenam purakkharum.

Gambhīrapañño medhāvī maggāmaggassa kovido uttamatthain anuppatto Nāgaseno visārado

Tehi bhikkhūhi parivuto nipuņehi saccavādihi caranto gāmanigamam Sāgalam upasankami.

Sankheyyaparivenasmim Nāgaseno tadā vasi, katheti so manussehi pabbate kesarī yathā ti.

Atha kho Devamantiyo rājānam Milindam etad-avoca: Agamehi tvam mahārāja, āgamehi tvam mahārāja, atthi mahārāja Nāgaseno nāma thero paṇḍito byatto medhāvī vinīto visārado bahussuto citrakathī kalyāṇapaṭibhāno, attha-dhamma-nirutti-paṭibhāna-paṭisambhidāsu pāramippatto, so etarahi Sankheyyapariveņe paṭivasati, gaccha tvam mahārāja, āyasmantam Nāgasenam pañham pucchassu, ussahati so tayā saddhim sallapitum kankham paṭivinetun-ti. Atha kho Milindassa rañño sahasā Nāgaseno ti saddam sutvā va ahud-eva bhayam, ahud-eva chambhitattam, ahud-eva lomahamso. Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyam etad-avoca: Ussahati bho Nāgaseno bhikkhu mayā saddhim sallapitun-ti. — Ussahati mahārāja api Inda-Yama-Varuṇa-Kuvera-Pajāpati-

² -vijjulatāpari- A. ³ sakalam AC. ⁴ -dhānisu ABC.

Suyāma-Santusitalokapālehi pitupitāmahena Mahābrahmunā pi saddhim sallapitum, kimanga pana manussabhūtenâti. — Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyam etadavoca: Tena hi tvam Devamantiya bhadantassa santike dūtam pesehîti. Evam devâti kho Devamantiyo āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtam pāhesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantam dassanakāmo ti. Āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno evamāha: Tena hi āgacchatùti. Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcamattehi Yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaramāruyha mahatā balakāyena saddhim yena Sankheyyapariveņam yen'āyasmā Nāgaseno ten'upasankami.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahassehi saddhim mandalamāle nisinno hoti. Addasā kho Milindo rājā āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisam dūrato va, disvāna Devamantiyam etad - avoca: Kass' esā Devamantiya mahatī parisā ti. — Āyasmato kho mahārāja Nāgasenassa parisā ti. — Atha kho Milindassa rañño āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisam dūrato va disvā ahud - eva bhayain, ahud - eva chambhitattam, ahud - eva lomahamso. Atha kho Milindo rājā, khaggaparivārito viya gajo, garulaparivārito viya nāgo, ajagaraparivārito viya kotthuko, mahisaparivārito viya accho, nāgānubaddho viya mandūko, saddūlānubaddho viya migo, ahigunthikasamāgato viya pannago, majjārasamāgato viya unduro, bhūtavejjasamāgato viya pisāco, Rāhumukhogato cando, pannago viva pelantaragato, sakuno viva pañjarantaragato, maccho viya jālantaragato, vālavanam anuppavittho viya puriso, Vessavanāparādhiko viya yakkho, parikkhīnāyuko viya devaputto, bhīto ubbiggo utrasto samviggo lomahatthajāto vimano dummano bhantacitto viparinatamānaso: mā mam ayam jano paribhavîti dhitim upatthapetvā Devamantiyam etad-avoca: Mā kho tvam

¹⁰ mahatā ca AC. 13 -sahassena all. 23 manduko CM. 23 saddulā- C.

Devamantiya āyasmantam Nāgasenam mayham ācikkheyyāsi, anakkhātañ ñevâham Nāgasenam jānissāmîti. — Sādhu mahārāja, tvañ ñeva jānāhîti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā bhikkhuparisāya purato cattālīsāya bhikkhusahassānam navakataro hoti, pacchato cattālīsāva bhikkhusahassānam buddhataro. Atha kho Milindo rājā sabban tam bhikkhusangham purato ca pacchato ca majjhato ca anuvilokento addasā kho āyasmantam Nāgasenam dūrato va bhikkhusanghassa majjhe nisinnam, kesarasīham viya vigatabhayabheravam vigatalomahamsam vigatabhayasārajjam, disvāna ākāren' eva aññāsi: eso kho ettha Nā-Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyam etadavoca: Eso kho Devamantiya āyasmā Nāgaseno ti. -Ama mahārāja, eso kho Nāgaseno, sutthu kho tvam mahārāja Nāgasenam añnāsîti. — Tato rājā tuttho ahosi: anakkhāto va mayā Nāgaseno aññāto ti. Atha kho Milindassa rañño āyasmantam Nāgasenam disvā va ahudeva bhayam, ahud eva chambhitattam, ahud eva lomahamso. Ten' āhu:

Caranena c'eva sampannam, sudantam uttame dame, disvā rājā Nāgasenam idam vacanam abravi:

Kathikā mayā bahū diṭṭhā, sākacchā osaṭā bahū, na tādisam bhayam āsi ajja tāso yathā mama.

Nissamsayam parajayo mama ajja bhavissati, jayo ca Nāgasenassa, yathā cittam na santhitan ti.

Bāhirakathā niţţhitā.

¹⁴ eso kho mahārāja Nāgaseno BC. 22 abruvī AC. 26 jayo va AC.

TRANSLATION.

King Milinda, of the excellent city of Sāgala, went to Nāgasena, as the Ganges rushes to the ocean.

After approaching that eloquent torchbearer, that dispeller of darkness, the king propounded to him many sagacious questions, turning on a variety of points.

And the answers given to those questions were of profound sense, gratifying and pleasing to hear, wonderful and stupendous.

Diving deeply into the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, equal to make out the intricacies of the Suttapitaka, Nāgasena's discourse glittered with similes and syllogisms.

Apply your whole soul to it, and make your hearts rejoice, by hearing the clever discussions, which will solve any doubtful points.

As handed down by tradition. — There is in the country of the Yonakas a fortified city called Sāgala, surrounded with a number of dependent towns, situated in a delightful country, adorned with rivers and hills, abounding in gardens, groves, woods, lakes, and tanks, a paradise of rivers, mountains, and forests, inhabited by a pious population, who know of no oppression, because all enemies

have been put down. The city is defended by a multiplicity of strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and archways. The royal castle is surrounded by deep trenches and white walls. Streets, squares, cross roads, and market places, are well laid out; the bazars are filled with well-displayed merchandise of innumerable sorts. Among the principal ornaments of the city are several hundreds of alms-halls; next come hundreds of thousands of glorious palaces, yving in height with the peaks of the Himālaya. The streets are crowded with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot passengers; men and women of the greatest beauty are to be met with. The city is extremely populous, being inhabited by vast numbers of kshatriyas, brahmans, vaiçyas, and çūdras, resounding with the welcome offered to different sects of ascetics and brahmans. resorted to by the greatest masters of the various arts and sciences. There are shops of every kind of stuffs, such as those from Bārānasī and Kotumbara, and odours exhaling from the shops of well-displayed, beautiful, and manifold flowers and scents, perfume the whole town, which besides abounds in the most magnificent jewels. thronged with cloth merchants having shops gaily decked and facing the four quarters. Coined money, silver and gold vessels, and precious stones, abound there; it is the very home of dazzling treasures. There is plenty of wealth, grain, furnitures, utensils; stores and warehouses are well filled, nor is there any lack of multifarious provisions, of hard and soft food, of syrups, beverages, and sweetmeats. It is like Uttarakuru, it resembles Alakamanda, the city of the Gods.

Here we must stop to relate the previous history of those two persons (Milinda and Nāgasena), which must be done by dividing the subject into six parts, viz., the Pubbayoga (or merits acquired in former existences), the Mi-

linda questions, the discussion on definitions, the equivocal problems, the questions concerning inductions, and the discussion of similarities. The Milinda questions again are twofold: those turning on definitions, and those aiming at dispelling of doubt. The equivocal problems likewise are twofold: the great chapter, and the discussion on yogis.

The Pubbayoga are the former deeds of those two Namely, in times past, when the religion of Kassapa Buddha was in force, there lived in a certain monastery near the Ganges a great community of priests. These priests, true to established rules and duties, every morning took up the long-handled brooms, and while meditating on the qualities of Buddha, cleaned the courtyard and made the sweepings into a heap. One day a priest ordered a disciple to throw out the sweepings; he, as if not hearing, went about his business, and on being called to a second and a third time, still went on his way, as if So the priest getting angry at his disonot hearing. bedience, dealt him a blow with the broomstik. time, not daring to refuse, he set about his task crying; and while so doing, offered up this his first prayer: - In regard of the meritorious act of throwing out the sweepings, may I, in each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I sh ll attain Nirvana, be glorious and powerful like the mid-day sun. When he had finished his work, he went to the riverside to bathe. On seeing the mighty billows of the Ganges in commotion, he offered up his second prayer: - In each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvana, may I possess everready and never-forsaking power of answering questions, (carrying every thing before me) like this mighty surge. Now the priest, after putting by the broom in the broom closet, as he likewise walked to the riverside to bathe, happened to overhear the disciple's prayer. It is on my

instigation, he reflected, that this person forms such a wish; what may not I expect to attain to? And so he prayed: - In each successive place where I shall be reborn, until · I shall attain Nirvāna, may I possess imperishable readiness in answering questions, (carrying every thing before me) like this mighty surge of the Ganges; may I be able to make out and unravel any perplexing question asked by this young man. — These two persons passed one Buddhantara, going through the course of transmigrations among gods and men, and then they too, like Tissatthera, son of Moggali, were seen by our Bhagavat and had their future fate foretold by him: - Five hundred years after my death, these two shall reappear, and the Law and Discipline taught so subtilely by me, they shall explain, unravelling and disentangling the difficulties by asking questions and by making similes.

Of the two, the disciple became the king of the city of Sāgala in Jambudvīpa, called Milinda, learned, eloquent, wise, clever in all things, a faithful observer of the various acts of worship and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come, conversant with many sciences, as holy tradition and secular law, the Sankhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vaiceshika systems, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Puranas, the Itihāsas, astronomy, magic, logic (?), charming with spells, the different sorts of fighting, prosody, mudda, in a word the whole nineteen sciences; a disputer difficult to approach, difficult to master, superior to the mass of sect And in all Jambudvīpa there was none like king Milinda for strength of body, swiftness, valour, (any more than) wisdom. (Besides he was) immensely rich, and his armies numberless.

One day king Milinda, being desirous to see his numberless army, consisting of the four hosts, pass in review before him, went out of the city, and there ordered the army to be counted. Being fond of talking with people and engaging with them in philosophical disputes, the king after looking at the sun said to his ministers, -The day is not yet far advanced, what is the use of returning to town at so early an hour? Is there not some learned ascetic or brahman, a teacher with many disciples, even though he profess the doctrine of the holy Buddha, who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? - Then the five hundred Yonakas said to king Milinda, — There are the six masters: Pūrana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Nigantha Nātaputta, Sanjaya Belatthaputta, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccayana; they are the teachers of many disciples, famous, renowned sect founders, highly approved of by the people; go, great king, ask them your questions and remove your doubts.

Then king Milinda, surrounded by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted the royal car, drawn by excellent horses, and went to where Pūrana Kassapa dwelled, engaged in friendly and familiar conversation with him, and then sat down apart. And sitting apart king Milinda said to Pūrana Kassapa, — Who, venerable Kassapa, governs the world? — The earth, great king, governs the world. — If, venerable K., the earth governs the world, then why do some men go to the Avīci hell, thus passing beyond the earth? — Thus addressed Pūrana Kassapa could neither swallow the question nor bring it up, but sat down crestfallen, silent, and groaning.

Then king Milinda said to Makkhali Gosāla, — Are there, venerable Gosāla, good and evil acts, have well and ill done acts their fruit, their maturity? — Good and evil acts, great king, are not, well and ill done acts have no fruit, no maturity; those who in this world are kshatriyas,

will after going to the next world again be kshatriyas, and so will brahmans, vaiçyas, çūdras, chaṇḍālas, pukkasas after going to the next world again be brahmans, etc.; what then is the use of good or evil acts? — If, venerable Gosāla, those who in this world are kshatriyas, brahmans, etc., after going to the next world will again be kshatriyas, etc., if good and evil acts are of no use, — then, venerable G., those who in this world had a hand cut off, will in the next world again have a hand cut off, those who had ears and nose cut off, will have ears and nose cut off. — Thus addressed Makkhali Gosāla remained silent.

Then king Milinda thought within himself. — Jambudvīpa is certainly empty, Jambudvīpa is certainly like chaff, there is no ascetic nor brahman who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts. And then he said to his counsellors. — The night is moonlight and beautiful; what ascetic or brahman can we seek to ask our questions, who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? After these words the counsellors remained silent, and stood looking at the king's face.

At that time the city of Sāgala had for twelve years been void of learned ascetics and brahmans, and even laymen; but wherever the king heard that such persons dwelled, there he went and put his questions to them. But all, being unable to satisfy the king with the answers given to his questions, went on their respective ways, or, if they did not depart for some other place, at all events remained silent. The priests of Buddha. however, commonly went to the Himālaya.

At that time there lived a thousand millions of Arhats at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya. The venerable Assagutta, having heard king Milinda's words by means of his divine power of hearing, ordered the priesthood to as-

semble on the top of the Yugandhara mountain, and asked them whether any priest was able to converse with king Milinda and remove his doubts. All the priests remained silent; and being asked a second time, again remained silent. Then the venerable Assagutta thus addressed the priesthood, — There is in the world of the thirty-three gods, east of the Vejayanta palace, a palace called Ketumati, there lives the god Mahäsena, he is able to converse with king Milinda and remove his doubts. — Then the thousand millions of Arhats vanished from mount Yugandhara and appeared in the world of the thirty-three gods.

Cakra, the lord of gods, from a distance saw those priests approaching, whereupon he went to meet the venerable Assagutta, and after saluting him placed himself And standing apart Cakra, the lord of gods, said to the venerable Assagutta, - A great assemblage of priests, I see, has arrived; I am the servant of the priests, what do you want, what shall I do for you? - Then the venerable A. said to Cakra, the lord of gods, - Here, great king, is the king called Milinda in the city of Sagala in Jambudvipa, a disputer difficult to approach, difficult to master, superior to all the heads of the various sects; he is in the habit of visiting the priests and annoying them by asking questions of speculative import. - Then Cakra, the lord of gods, said to the venerable Assagutta, - That king Milinda, holy one, left this place to be reborn among men; but in the palace of Ketumati lives the god Mahāsena, he is able to dispute with that king Milinda and to remove his doubts; that god we will be seech to suffer himself to be reborn in the world of men. - So Cakra, the lord of gods, preceded by the priesthood, entered the Ketumatī palace, and said to the god Mahāsena, after embracing him, - The priesthood beseeches thee, lord, to be reborn in

the world of men. — I have no desire for the world of men so occupied with action, the world of men is passionate; even here, in the world of gods, being reborn ever in a higher and higher stage I shall attain final emancipation. — On Çakra continuing to beseech him a second and a third time, the god M. said again, — I have no desire, etc.

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Then the venerable Assagutta said to the god M., — On passing in review the worlds of gods and men, we see none but thee, lord, who is able to succour our religion by refuting the heresy of king Milinda; the priesthood, lord, beseeches thee, saying, We pray thee, pious one, suffer thyself to be reborn in the human world, and in our behalf lend the religion of Dasabala thy aid. — Thus addressed the god M., overjoyed to hear that he should be able to succour religion by refuting the heretical doctrines of king Milinda, gave his promise. — Well, venerable ones. I shall be reborn in the world of men.

Having performed that task, the priests vanished from the world of the thirty-three gods, and again appeared at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya. Then the venerable Assagutta said to the priesthood. — Is there in this congregation any priest who was not present at the assembly? - One of the priests replied, - The venerable Rohana. holy one, seven days ago entered the Himālaya to give himself up to mortifying meditation; please to send a messenger to him. — At that very moment the venerable Rohana arose from his meditation, and perceiving (by means of his superhuman faculties) that the priesthood were waiting for him, vanished from the Himalaya mountain and appeared at Rakkhitatala before the thousand millions of Then the venerable Assagutta said to the venerable Rohana, - How now, venerable Rohana, the religion of Buddha is dissolving, and thou seest not what the priesthood have to do? — I was guilty of inadvertency. — Then, venerable R., atone for it. — What shall I do? — There is, venerable R., at the foot of the Himālaya range, a brahman village called Kajangala, there lives the brahman Sonuttara, he shall obtain a son, the infant Nāgasena; to that house thou shalt go for alms for seven years and ten months, and after the lapse of that time thou shalt deliver him from a worldly life and make him an ascetic, and when he is made an ascetic, the term of thy punishment shall be over. — The venerable Rohana signified his assent.

Now the god Mahāsena died from the world of gods, and was reborn in the womb of the brahman Sonuttara's wife, and at the precise moment of regeneration, three wonderful and miraculous phenomena occurred: arms and weapons blazed, the tender crop ripened at once, and there was a shower of rain (out of season). And from the day of his new birth forward, the venerable Rohana for seven years and ten months went to that house for alms, but never once he got so much as a spoonful of boiled rice, or a ladleful of sour gruel, or a greeting, or a holding out of the joined hands, or any sort of reverence; on the contrary, he received injuries and taunts. Nay, there was even no one who said so much as, Please to ask at the next house. But after the lapse of the seven years and ten months he one day happened to have these words addressed to him, Please to apply at the next house. On that very day the brahman, returning from his fields, saw the senior priest coming in an opposite direction, and said to him, — Have you been to our house, hermit? — Yes, brahman, we have. — Did you receive anything? — Yes, brahman, we did. - Displeased at this he went home, and asked whether they gave that hermit anything. gave him nothing, said they. Next day the brahman sat . down at the door of his house, intending to reprove him for having told a lie. The senior priest arrived at the brahman's door, and the brahman no sooner saw him than he said thus: - You received nothing at our house yesterday, and yet you said you did; is lying worthy of you? - The senior priest said, - For seven years and ten months, brahman, we were never till yesterday told so much as. Please to apply at the next house: but from having been received with these kind words we said so. - The brahman thought, - After once receiving a kind word, these (priests) announce to all the world that they have received something; why should they not do as much after receiving eatables? - and highly pleased he ordered some spoonfood to be given him from the rice which had been prepared for himself, together with the necessary sauce, and said. — Such alms you will receive at all times. On seeing the subdued manners of the senior priest, who from the next day forward called regularly, he was still more pleased, and asked the priest always to make his repasts at his house. The priest assented in silence, and regularly day after day, after finishing his meal, and when about to depart, he pronounced a little of Buddha's words.

The brahman's wife after ten months brought forth a son, who received the name of Nāgasena, grew up, and in course of time attained the age of seven years. Then the father of young Nāgasena said to young Nāgasena, — Dost thou wish to learn the sciences traditional in this brahmanical house of ours? — Which are those, father? — The three Vedas are called sciences, the rest are called arts. — Well, then I will learn them. — Then the brahman Sonuttara engaged a brahman to be the boy's teacher for a remuneration of one thousand pieces, and after accommodating him with a bed in the same room with the boy in the interior of the house, said to the teacher, —

Do thou, brahman, teach this boy the sacred hymns. the boy he said, - Dear boy, now learn the sacred hymns. The teacher repeated them, and after one repetition of them young Nagasena had learned by heart the whole of the three Vedas, could repeat them, had understood them well, so as not to confound one with the other, and had committed them faithfully to memory; all at once he received the intuitive knowledge (necessary for comprehending them), and was verbally and grammatically versed in the three Vedas together with the Nighantu, Ketubha, and Akkharappabheda, and the Itihasas as a fifth part, and perfectly familiar with the Lokayata system of philosophy, as well as the characteristics of men born to eminent great-Then young Nagasena said to his father. — Is there anything more to be learned in this brahmanical family of ours, or only this much? - There is no more to be learned in this brahmanical family of ours, only this much. — Then young N., having applied himself zealously to his teacher's instruction, left the house, and by an impulse of his mind resulting from merit acquired in a previous life, sought solitude to give himself up to meditation, and as he reviewed the beginning, middle, and end of his acquirements, without seeing the least of substantiality either in the beginning or middle or end, he thought, -These Vedas are indeed empty and like chaff, devoid of essence and substantiality; — and felt regret and grief.

Now, at that time the venerable Rohana, as he sat in his hermitage at Vattaniya, mentally perceiving the mental reflection of young N., put on his outer garment, took up his alms bowl and beggar's cloak, and vanishing from his hermitage at Vattaniya appeared outside the brahman village of Kajangala. Young N., who stood at the porch of his house, saw the venerable Rohana approaching from a distance, and as he did so, was overjoyed in the hope that

in this ascetic he might at length have found one who knew what was essential. So he went up to the venerable Rohana, and said to him, - Who art thou, lord, that thou art thus baldheaded, and wearest yellow robes? — I am an ascetic, boy. - Why, lord, hast thou become an ascetic? — An ascetic secedes to make the impurities of sin secede; therefore, boy, I have become an ascetic. -Why, lord, is not thy hair like that of others? — It was because I saw the sixteen impediments (to a holy life), that I cut off my hair and beard when I became an ascetic; which sixteen? The impediments of ornaments, of decking out, of using salves, of washing, of flower chaplets. of perfumes, of scents, of yellow myrobalan, of emblic myrobalan, of dyes, of ribbons, of combs, of barbers, of disentangling the clotted hair, of vermin; when the hair falls off, they feel grieved and are harassed, lament and cry, beating their chest, or even fall down in a swoon; - entangled by these sixteen impediments men will forget the most subtile sciences. - Why, lord, are also thy garments not like those of others? — (Worldly) clothes, boy, are inseparable from desire, belong to desire, are the marks of worldlings; whatever dangers arise from worldly clothes, he who puts on the yellow robe knows nothing of; therefore, neither are my garments like those of others. -Knowest thou, lord, the real science? — Yes, I know the real science, boy; and what is the best hymn in the world, that I know too. - Canst thou also give that to me? — I can, boy. — Then give it me. — This is no time, boy; we have entered the house for alms.

Then young Nagasena, taking the alms bowl out of the venerable Rohana's hand, led him into the house, and after satisfying him with excellent hard and soft food, attending him with his own hands, when he saw that the venerable R. had done eating, and had drawn his hand

out of his alms bowl, he said to him, - Now, lord, give me that hymn. — When thou shalt be without the impediments (to a holy life), boy, and after obtaining thy parents' consent thou shalt put on that monk's dress which I have put on, then I shall give it thee. — Then young N. went up to his parents and said, — This ascetic says he knows the hymn which is the best in the world, but will not give it to any one who will not retire from the world with him; I wish to retire from the world in his company, and learn that hymn. His parents gave their consent, for they wished him to learn the hymn, even at the cost of his retiring from the world, and they thought that after learning it he would come back again. Then the venerable R. took young N. with him and first went to his hermitage of Vattaniya, from thence to the hermitage of Vijambhavatthu, and after passing the night there, went to Rakkhitatala, and in the middle of the congregation of the ten millions of Arhats caused young N. to be ordained. Whereupon the venerable N. said to the venerable R., - I have put on thy dress, now give me the hymn. Then the venerable R. thought thus to himself: - In which shall I first instruct Nagasena, in the Suttanta or the Abhidhamma? — and seeing that Nagasena was intelligent, and could easily learn the Abhidhamma, he first instructed him in the Abhidhamma. the venerable N., after having it repeated but once, knew by heart the whole Abhidhamma, viz. the Dhammasangani, which is ornamented with triads and dyads, such as "good things, bad things, indifferent things"; the Vibhangapakarana, which is ornamented with the eighteen explications, viz. the explications of the khandhas, etc.; the Dhātukathāpakarana, distributed into fourteen parts, viz. comprehension, noncomprehension, etc.; the Puggalapaññatti, divided into six parts, viz. the declaration of khandhas, of ayatanas, etc.; the Kathāvatthupakarana, which is set forth by enumerating 1000 suttas, 500 according to (Buddha's) own views, 500 turning on those of others; the Yamaka, divided into ten parts: the fundamental dyads, the khandha-dyads, etc.; the Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa, divided into twenty-four parts: the hetupaccaya, the ārammaṇa-paccaya, etc. And then he said to the venerable Rohaṇa, — Now stop, holy one, do not repeat it over again, this will suffice for me to recite it.

Then the venerable N. went to the ten millions of Arhats and said to them. - I wish to recite the entire Abhidhamma, without abridgment, so as to comprehend the whole of it in these three classes: good things, bad things, indifferent things. — Well, Nagasena, recite it. — Then the venerable N. in seven months recited the seven books of Abhidhamma in full. The earth thundered, the gods signified their approval, the Brahmas clapped their hands, there came a shower of celestial powder of sandal and And then the ten millions of Arhats erythrina flowers. at Rakkhitatala consecrated the venerable N. for a priest, he having then filled his twentieth year. And being ordained a priest, the venerable N., after the lapse of that night, the next forenoon put on his garments and took up his bowl and beggar's cloak; and as in company with his teacher he was entering the village for alms, he called up within himself the following reflection: — My teacher is truly empty-headed and foolish, that he should first instruct me in the Abhidhamma, leaving aside the rest of Buddha's word. But then the venerable R., mentally perceiving the mental reflection of the venerable N., said to him, - Thou makest an unworthy reflection, Nagasena, is not worthy of thee. Then the venerable N. thought to himself, - Wonderful indeed, miraculous, that my teacher should mentally know my mental reflection, he is truly wise; I must propitiate my teacher. And then he

said to the venerable R., — Pardon me, holy one, I shall not again make any such reflection.

Then the venerable R. said to the venerable N., -I do not pardon thee all at once; but there is a city called Sagala, there reigns king Milinda, he annoys the priesthood by asking questions of heretical import; if thou wilt go there and canst master the king and make a convert of him, then I shall pardon thee. - Not only king Milinda, holy one, but if all the kings of whole Jambudvīpa were to assemble and propose questions to me, I should by my answers crush all: only pardon me. — I shall not pardon thee (till then). - Then, holy one, with whom am I to dwell for these three months (of the rainy season)? — At the hermitage of Vattaniya. Nāgasena, lives the venerable Assagutta; do thou go to him, and in my name salute his feet with thy head, and say to him, -My teacher, holy one, salutes your feet with his head, and asks whether you are free from disease and illness, whether you are in vigour and force, and dwell agreeably; he sent me to live with you for these three months. When he shall ask, What is thy teacher's name? - thou shalt say, The thera Rohana, holy one. When he shall say, What is my name? - thou shalt say, My teacher, holy one, knows your name. - Certainly holy one, said the venerable N., saluted the venerable R., went round him so as to present his right side to him, and took up his bowl and beggar's cloak. wandering from place to place, he finally arrived at the Vattaniya hermitage where the venerable dwelled, went up to him, and after greeting him placed Standing apart the venerable N. said to himself apart. the venerable A., - My teacher, holy one, salutes your feet with his head, and speaks thus: - he asks whether you are free from disease and illness, whether you are in vigour and force, and dwell agreeably; my teacher, holy

one, sent me to live with you for these three months. -Then the venerable A. said to the venerable N., — What is thy name? — My name, holy one, is Nagasena. — What is thy teacher's name? — My teacher's name, holy one, is the thera R. — What is my name? — My teacher, holy one, knows your name. - Will, Nagasena, put by thy bowl and cloak. - Well, holy one. - So saying he but by his bowl and cloak. The following day, after sweeping the hermit's cell, he placed water for rincing the mouth and tooth-cleaners ready for use. The thera swept over again the place he had swept, threw away the water and fetched some other water, removed the tooth-cleaners and took some others, and did not speak a word to him. Thus having done for seven days, on the seventh day he again asked him those questions, was again answered in the same manner, and only then he allowed him to pass the rainy seasou with him.

At that time a certain distinguished female lay votary had for as long as thirty years administered to the wants of the venerable Assagutta. That female, after the lapse of the three months, went up to the venerable A. and said to him, — Is there any other priest with you, father? — There is with us, great devotee, a priest called Nagasena. - Then, father Assagutta, consent to take your meal tomorrow (at my house), together with Nagasena. — The venerable A. assented in silence. Then the venerable A., after the lapse of that night, the next forenoon put on his garments, took up his bowl and cloak, and together with the venerable N. as his follower went to the great female devotee's dwelling, and sat down on the seat pre-Then that great female devotee satisfied pared for him. the venerable A, and the venerable N, with excellent hard and soft food, attending them with her own hands. And the venerable A., when he had done eating and had drawn

his hand out of his bowl, said to the venerable N., — Do thou, N., express our thanks to the great female devotee. - After so saying, he arose from his seat and departed. Then that great female devotee said to the venerable N., - I am old, father Nagasena; thank me by means of a profound religious discourse. — Then the venerable N. expressed his thanks to that great female devotee by means of a profound discourse on Abhidhamma, passing things mundane, turning on void. And at that very sitting the great female devotee received "the eye of the law." free from dust and impurity, (viz. the knowledge that) whatever is in the predicament of having an origin, all that is also in the predicament of having a cessation. And the venerable N. himself, after thanking the great female devotee, by meditating on the discourse he had himself pronounced and thus acquiring the superior intelligence (vipassanā), at that very sitting gained the degree of a sotapanna.

Then the venerable Assagutta, as sitting in the circular hall he perceived that both had acquired the eye of the law, signified his approval: — Excellent, excellent, Nāgasena! by one arrow-shot two great bodies have been pierced! And many thousands of gods likewise signified their approval.

Then the venerable N. arose from his seat and went to the venerable Assagutta, greeted him and sat down apart. As he sat apart, the venerable A. said to the venerable N., — Go thou, Nāgasera, in the Asokagarden, in the city of Pātaliputta, lives the venerable Dhammarakkhita; with him learn the word of Buddha. — How far, holy one, is the city of P. from this? — Three hundred yojanas, Nāgasena. — The distance is great, alms will be scarce as I go along; how shall I get there? — Go thou, Nāgasena, thou wilt find thy bowlful of alms as thou goest along, boiled rice from which the black grains have

been culled, with various sorts of broth and sauce. — Certainly, holy one, said the venerable N., greeted the venerable A., went round him presenting his right side to him, took up his bowl and cloak, and went on his beggar's way to Pātaliputta.

At that time a merchant of Pātaliputta was on his way back to Pātaliputta, with 500 waggons. merchant saw the venerable N. coming from a distance, and as he saw him stopped his 500 waggons, saluted the venerable N., and asked him, - Whither art thou going, father? — To Pātaliputta, householder. — Well, father, we too are going to P.; go along with us, it will be more pleasant. Then the Pataliputta merchant, highly pleased with the venerable N.'s manners, satisfied him with excellent hard and soft food, waiting personally upon him, and when he saw the venerable N. had done eating and had drawn his hand out of his bowl, he took a low seat and sat down apart. And sitting apart the Pataliputta merchant said to the venerable N., - What is thy name, father? - My name, householder, is N. — Dost thou, father, know Buddha's word? - I know, householder, the articles of the Abhidhamma. - We are indeed lucky, father, this is indeed an advantage, both I and thou are conversant with the Abhidhamma; do thou pronounce the articles of the Abhidhamma, father. — Then the venerable N. pronounced the Abhidhamma to the Pataliputta merchant, and by degrees as he did so, the merchant received the eye of the law, (viz. the knowledge that) whatever is in the predicament of having an origin, all that is also in the predicament of having a cessation. Then the Pataliputta merchant sent the 500 waggons in advance, and himself followed after In a cross road not far from Pataliputta he stopped and said to the venerable N., This father N., is the way to the garden of Asoka; here I have an excellent blanket,

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sixteen cubits in length and eight in breadth, take pity on me and accept this excellent blanket. The venerable N. took pity on him and accepted the excellent blanket, and then the Pāṭaliputta merchant, pleased and glad, with joyful heart and full of content and happiness, saluted the venerable N., went round him so as to present his right side to him, and departed.

Then the venerable N. went to the venerable Dhammarakkhita in the garden of Asoka, and after saluting him and stating the cause of his arrival, from the mouth of the venerable Dh. he learned by heart the whole of the three baskets of Buddha's word in three months and after a single recital, so as to know them by heart according to the words, and in three months more he mastered the sense. Then the venerable Dh. said to the venerable N., - Even as the herdsman, Nagasena, tends the cows, but another enjoys their produce, even so thou, though knowing by heart the three baskets of Buddha's word, art not a partaker of cramanaship. — Be it so, holy one, you have said enough, (said N.). In the course of that very day and night he attained Arhatship together with the patisambhidas, and at the moment of his penetrating the truths, all the gods shouted, Excellent, excellent; the earth thundered, the Brahma's clapped their hands, and there was a shower of celestial sandal powder and erythrina flowers.

At that time the ten millions of Arhats at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya assembled and sent a messenger to the venerable N., — Let N. come, we wish to see N. On hearing the messenger's words the venerable N. vanished from the garden of Asoka, and appeared at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya, before the ten millions of Arhats, who said to him, — That king Milinda annoys the priesthood by one heretical doctrine after the other, and by asking questions; well, N., go thou and master king Milinda. — Not only

king Milinda, holy ones, but if the kings of whole Jambudvīpa were to come and ask me questions, I should solve all those questions by my answers; do you, holy ones, go to the city of Sāgala without fear. — Then all the senior priests went to the city of Sāgala, lighting it with their yellow robes like lamps and making it respire the odour of saints.

At that time the venerable Ayupala dwelled at the Sankhevvaparivena. Then king Milinda said to his counsellors. - It is a beautiful, moonlight night, what cramana or brahman shall we go to now to have a conversation with him and to exchange questions and answers? who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? Thus addressed the 500 Yonakas said to king Milinda, - Great king, there is the senior priest Ayupāla, well versed in the three Pitakas and all the traditional lore; he now dwells at the Sankheyyaparivena; go, great king, and ask the venerable Ayupāla your questions. — Well then, I say, announce my arrival to the bhadanta. Then the royal astrologer sent a messenger to the venerable Ayupala: - King Milinda, holy one, wishes to see the venerable Ayupala. — And the venerable A. said, - Well, let him come. - Then king Milinda ascended his royal car, and surrounded by his 500 Yonakas went up to the venerable A. at the Sankheyyaparivena, with whom he engaged in friendly and amicable conservation, and then sat down apart. sitting apart king M. said to the venerable A., - What. holy one, is the object of your ascetic life, and what is your highest aim? - The senior priest said, The object, great king, of our ascetic life, is to live according to the law, according to the subjugation of the senses. - Is there, holy one, any householder who lives according to the law, according to the subjugation of the senses? — Yes, great king, there are such householders. When, in

the park of Isipatana near Bārānasī, our holy teacher turned the wheel of the law, 180 millions of brahmans were converted to the law, but the number of gods converted is beyond computation. All those were householders, not monks. And again, great king, when the Mahasamayasuttanta (DN. 20), the Mahāmangala-suttanta (Sn. 16), the Samacittapariyāya-suttanta (AN. II, iv, 5), the Rāhulovādasuttanta¹, the Parābhava-suttanta (Sn. 6) were delivered by our divine teacher, incalculable numbers of gods were converted, all of them laymen, not ascetics. — Then, holy A., your ascetic life is useless. It must be in consequence of sin committed in former existences that the cramanas of the Sakvaputta's creed turn ascetics and observe the dhu-Those priests, holy A., who limit themselves to eating once a day, were in former existences, I suppose, thieves who stole food from others, and from having deprived others of food, in consequence of that act have now food only once a day, and are not allowed to eat repeatedly; it is on their part no virtue, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life. And, holy A., those priests who always live in the open air, in former existences, I suppose, were robbers who plundered whole villages, and for having destroyed the houses of others, in consequence of that act must now pass their lives in the open air, and are not allowed the use of huts; it is on their part no virtue, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life. And, holy A., those priests who always keep a sitting posture, in former existences, I suppose, were highwaymen who seized travellers, bound them, and left them sitting there, and in consequence of that act must now keep a sitting

¹ There are several suttas of this name; the one intended is that commonly called Cūļa-Rāhulovādasuttam, MN. 147 = SN. XXXIV, 120.

posture and are not allowed to provide a couch; it is no virtue on their part, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life.

After these words the venerable A. remained silent and said not a word. Then the 500 Yonakas said to king M., — This senior priest is wise, it is from diffidence that he does not reply. — Then king M., on seeing the venerable A. silent, clapped his hands, shouted, and said to the Yonakas, — Jambudvīpa is indeed empty, Jambudvīpa is indeed like chaff, there is no gramana nor brahman who is able to dispute with me and remove my doubts. Then king M., when on passing in review the whole assembly he saw the Yonakas fearless and undaunted, said, — Undoubtedly there is some other wise priest, I dare say, who is able to dispute with me, since these Yonakas are so very confident. — Then king M. said to the Yonakas, — Is there, I say, any other wise priest who is able to dispute with me and remove my doubts?

At that time the venerable Nagasena, after wandering his beggar's way through villages, towns, and royal capitals, had in course of time arrived in the city of Sagala, surrounded by a multitude of gramanas, the master of numerous disciples, famous and renowned and highly esteemed by the whole people, learned, clever, wise, sagacious, a skilful expounder, of subdued manners, but full of courage, well versed in tradition, master of the three Pitakas, erudite in Veda lore, but at the same time in possession of the highest (Buddhist) intelligence, conversant with traditional lore, at the same time skilful in explaining the most abstruse meaning, knowing by heart the ninefold doctrine of Buddha better than any one else, equally skilled in the terms and the sense of Buddha's speeches, in propounding and in penetrating them, possessed of various and never failing power of reply, of ever varying

discourse, of the finest eloquence, difficult to equal and (more) difficult to excel, difficult to answer, to refute, to defeat, imperturbable like the sea, immoveable like the king of mountains, an overcomer of sin, a dispeller of darkness and diffuser of light, a powerful orator, a confounder of the audience of other teachers, a crusher of the adherents of other doctrines, honoured and revered by priests and priestesses, male and female lay votaries, kings and ministers, abundantly supplied with the requisites (of Buddhist priests), viz., beggar's cloak and bowl of alms and hut and what is needful in sickness, receiving the highest honour no less than emoluments; to the wise and and sapient who were willing to listen, he showed the ninefold jewel of Buddha's doctrine, taught them the way of the law, lighted them with the lamp of the law, put up for them the sacrificial post of the law, for their benefit offered up the sacrifice of the law, held on high the banner of the law, raised the flag of the law, winded the conch of the law, beat the drum of the law, sounded the lion's roar, sent forth the thunder of Indra, and by the thunder of his sweet voice and the copious shower of the nectar of the law, wrapped as it were in a net of flashes from his superior intelligence, and teeming with the water of mercy, he fully satisfied all the world. There, then, at the Sankheyya-parivena, did the venerable Nāgasena dwell, together with 80000 priests. Therefore it is said,

(He was) learned in tradition, wise and clever, a skilful judge of the various philosophical systems, and quick at finding a reply.

And those priests, familiar with the three Piṭakas, or with the five Nikāyas, or with four of them, regarded Nāgasena as their leader.

Nāgasena, the profoundly sapient sage, skilful in

distinguishing which was the way and which was not, the wise one, who had attained the highest aim,

After wandering through villages and towns, arrived in Sāgala, accompanied by those able priests, confessors of the truth.

Then Nāgasena lived at the Sankheyya-pariveņa, appearing among men like a lion in the mountains.

Then Devamantiya said to king Milinda, - Wait a little, great king, there is a senior priest called Nagasena, learned, wise and sapient, of subdued manners, yet full of courage, familiar with traditional lore, of ever varying discourse, of happy power of replying, an adept in the four supernatural attainments, viz., knowledge of the words and the sense of the law, a faculty of explaining it and of refuting objections; he at present dwells at the Sankheyyaparivena, go thou, great king, and propound thy questions to the venerable N., he is able to converse with thee and to remove thy doubts. - No sooner did king M. hear the name of N., than he was seized with dread and stupor Then he said to Devamantiya, — Is and horripilation. the priest N. indeed able to converse with me? — He is able, great king, to converse even with the guardians of the world, Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, Prajāpati, Suyāma, Santushita, even with the progenitor of mankind, the great Brahma, how much more with a human being? — Then king M. said to D., - Well then, do thou, Devamantiya, send a messenger to the holy one. — Certainly, lord, said D., and sent this message to the venerable N., -King M., holy one, wishes to see the venerable (N.). — The venerable N. said, — Well then, let him come. — Then king M., surrounded by the 500 Yonakas, ascended the royal car, and together with a large body of warriors went to the venerable N. at the Sankheyya-parivena.

At that time the venerable N., with the 80000 priests,

was sitting in the circular hall. So king M. saw the assembly of the venerable N. from a distance, and as he saw it, said to D., — Whose is this large assembly, D.? — It is the assembly of the venerable N., great king. king M., from seeing the venerable N.'s assembly even at a distance, was seized with dread and stupor and horri-But, though afraid and terrified, confused and besides himself with fear and dread, - like an elephant surrounded by rhinoceroses, like a serpent surrounded by garudas, a jackal by boa-constrictors, a bear by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a snake, a deer by a panther, like a snake attacked by a snake-catcher, a rat by a cat, a demon by a conjurer, like the moon caught in the mouth of Rāhu, like a snake in a basket, like a bird in a cage, like a fish in a net, like a man who has entered a forest infested by wild beasts, like a Yaksha who has sinned against Vaicravana, like a god whose term of life is at an end, - king M. took heart on consideration that he must not allow those people to humiliate him, and said to D., - Do not thou, D., point out to me the venerable N., I shall know him without having him pointed out. -Certainly, great king, know him yourself. - Now at that time the venerable N. was younger than the 40000 priests who sat before him in that assembly of priests, and older than the 40000 priests who sat behind him. Then king M., on reviewing the whole of that priesthood, both in front and behind and in the middle, from a distance saw the venerable N. sitting in the middle of the priesthood, like a shaggy lion free from fear and terror and diffidence, and as soon as he saw him, knew by his mien that this was N. Then king M. said to D., — This then, D., is the venerable N. — Yes, great king, this is N.; well didst thou know him. - Whereupon the king rejoiced that he had known N. without having him pointed out. And again, on seeing the venerable N., king M. was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. Therefore it is said,

The king on seeing Nāgasena, distinguished by such holiness, with demeanour evincing the highest self-chastening, spoke these word to him:

Many interlocutors I have met with, many conversations I have engaged in, but never did I feel such fear, never did my whole frame shake, as it does to-day.

Troubled as my mind is, defeat will doubtlessly be mine to-day, and victory Nāgasena's.

End of Introduction.

NOTES.

P. 5¹. The name of Milinda has been happily identified with the Greek Menandros. In Pali the liquids n and l are easily interchanged, more especially either by assimilation or dissimilation; as, mulāla S. mṛṇāla, nangala S. lāngala, nangula S. lāngula, nalāṭa S. lalāṭa, veļu S. veņu (proceeding from the oblique cases), pilandhati 'to ornament,' from pilandha¹ S. pinaddha (comp. onandhati, pariyonandhati), vijjotalanta, pres. part. of a denominative from S. vidyotana. The latter part of the name is made to contain the Pali word inda; or else assimilation of vowels may have taken place, as in nilicchita, S. nirashṭa from AKSH (the Burmese write nilacchita), nisinna S. nishaṇṇa, piṭṭhi S. pṛshṭha,² etc.

P. 5 11. Tamyathā nusūyate is a phrase well known from Sanskrit, especially Buddhist Sanskrit, comp. Five Jāt. p. 59; in Pali I have only found it in this place.

P. 5¹⁴. Rāmaņeyyaka, S. rāmaņīyaka, seems always to be used as a substantive; comp., Abhijānāsi no (i. e. nu) tvam rājanā divāseyyam upagato supinakam passitā, ārāmarāmaņeyyakam vanarāmaņeyyakam bhūmirāmaņeyyakam pokkharanīrāmaņeyyakam (DN. 24); iccheyyāsi no tvam

^{&#}x27; Pilandha is used in Mil. and in comments; I have not found it in any Pitaka text. But pilandhita seems to be unused.

² An interesting case showing the transition from the neuter pittham to the fem. pitthi, occurs in each of the four Nikāyas: Pitthim - me (so MN. and SN.; pitthi me DN. and AN.) agilāyati (āgilāyati SN.), tam - aham āyamissāmi, 'my back pains me a little, I wish to stretch it.' Comp. Jāt. I, p. 491 (at I. 3 read, patibhātu tam bhikkhūnam dhammi kathà). The assimilation has taken place, but the nasal is retained, and the word probably still remains neuter. The case is different from nidhin-nikhāto (S. -ir ni-) Jāt. 307 v. 4.

mārisa Moggallāna Vejayantassa pāsādassa rāmaneyyakam datthum (MN. 37). At Dh. v. 98 bhūmimrāmaneyyakam is a compound with m inserted for metrical reasons; the parallel verse SN. XI, 15 has the same reading.

P. 5 18. Caccara is S. catvara; v and r after a dental being sometimes changed into y, and thus together with the dental mostly forming a palatal, as gijjha S. grdhra,

ekacca 4 S. ekatara (after contraction into *ekatra).

P. 61. Dānagga is no doubt a contraction of dānāgāra, by elision of the penultimate vowel; for in the sense of house -agga is used in several compounds, as bhattagga (Dh. p. 104; Mhw. p. 88), salākagga, vassagga (a shed, Jāt. I p. 123), uposathagga (also uposathāgāra). The like contraction occurs in ekacca, referred to in the preceding note. Also in pitucchā, mātucchā, S. pitṛshvasar, mātṛshvasar: sasar, which is otherwise unused in Pali, being contracted to -ssar, will according to a well known Sanskrit rule form -tsar, which in Pali makes -cchar, and for final -ar, as in some other cases, -ā is substituted. Jñu in composition for jānu, offers a Sanskrit analogy.

P. 67. Kodumbaraka, the reading of M, is also that of the Vessantara-Jātaka, where the commentary explains

it 'Kodumbararatthe uppannāni.'

P. 6 14. Leyya is S. lehya; sāyaniya from sāyati 'to taste,' S. svādate. A single consonant between vowels is

single s, to prevent the verse from ending in three iambi. This reading is however scarcely original, but so old that it came to be considered the correct form, and -isam is used only at the end of a hemistich. The examples are very numerous, and when Kuhn, Beitr. z. Pali-Gr. p. 111, characterized the form as "äusserst selten," he forgot that his knowledge of Pitaka texts was very limited.

At first view ekacca (also ekatiya, Th. v. 1012, if the reading is right) has the appearance of containing the suffix tya, and like Kuhn and Senart I formerly thought that such was the case. But that obsolete termination was no longer available for the formation of new words, and it never produced derivatives declined like ekacca, pl. *kacce. Compare also mahacca = mahattara, in mahaccarājānubhāvena, DN.2; MN.84.89; AN. V, v, 10; and matyā or mātyā, petyā, S. mātrā, pitrā, Jāt. 527 vv. 3.5; 538 v. 29. At Khuddakap. 9 v. 1 = Sn.8 v. 1, I consider abbisamecca the instrumental of -etar in the sense of a future, with irregular shortening of the final, perhaps an old clerical error.

rather frequently elided, and to avoid the hiatus, which unlike the practice in Prakrit is never allowed to remain, either a semivowel is inserted or contraction takes place. Sāyati more immediately proceeds from the part. sāyita, like tary-idam, khāyita from khādati, in which verb however the elision is confined to the participle. Sāyati is so frequently accompanied by ghāyati 'to smell,' that the rhyme may have contributed to the change.

P. 7²¹. Moggaliputta-Tissatthero was the principal actor in the third sangīti ⁵ or redaction of the Buddhist canon, 218 years after Buddha. His history, as related in Mhw., has many points of coincidence with our text.

P. 721. Dissati. Of the three Sanskrit preterites, the perfect has left but very few vestiges, and the imperfect and agrist are commonly blended into one form partaking of the character of both. Thus the old system has been entirely overthrown, and has had to be replaced by a new The agrist is expressed by the new Pali agrist formed from the Sanskrit imperfect, the terminations being on the whole borrowed from the Sanskrit aorist; the perfect by means of the past participle, so that the construction of the sentence commonly becomes passive (as, evam-me sutam, thus I have heard). The imperfect takes the form of the present tense; and on this analogy the future may be used in the sense of an imperfect of the future. Hoti (- was), accompanied by a past participle, forms a pluperfect. The scheme is however partly infringed, in so far as the p. p., especially in an active sense, is often used instead of an agrist; and so is, in the text above, the present, of which licence there are, I believe, few other examples. — This system of preterite tenses differs not much from that used in more recent Sanskrit; the use of the present for the imperfect in epic Sanskrit has been noticed by Rückert in Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Gesellsch. 1859 p. 110, but according to his statement is more limited than in Pali.

P. 725. Niggumba from gumba, S. gulma, by meta-

⁵ Burnouf, and Childers on his authority, render sangīti by 'synod,' but I have met with the word in no context where the meaning 'redaction' is not either necessary or admissible. Nor does the verb sangāyati ever mean 'to convoke,' but invariably 'to make a collection or redaction of texts.'

thesis; gumbla being the intermediate stage. Comp. simbali, S. calmali.

- P. 81. The nineteen sciences are intended to represent the Yonaka cyclopædia, the difference of which from the Indian must have been well known to the author, Hence the number was fixed at nineteen, to mark them out as distinct from the 'eighteen' Indian sciences. this was all he knew about the matter, and so his specification of them turned out a mere farrago of Indian words, the exact meaning of which no one would probably have been more puzzled to explain than himself. He first thought of cruti and smrti, of sankhya, yoga, nyaya, vaiçeshika. For smrti and nyāya were substituted sammuti (S. sammati, perhaps in the sense of 'what is universally agreed on') and nīti; the regular equivalents, sati and ñāya, being objectionable, because these are among the technical terms of Buddhism (ñayo = ariyo atthangiko maggo), and might have rendered Milinda suspect of Buddhist attainments previous to his conversion. The rest of the names are chosen rather at random, and mostly disguised as feminines ending in -ā, in order to look less like Indian.
- P. 8¹⁷. Pūrano is the correct name, though written in all our copies, and often elsewhere, Purāno. He was born, according to Buddhaghosa. after 99 other slaves, thus 'filling up' the number of a hundred. In the following names, the forms Nāta- and Nāthaputto. Belattha- and Belatthiputto are written indifferently wherever they occur. The latter however is said by Buddhaghosa to mean Belatthassa putto. But on the whole metronymics alternate with corresponding patronymics so frequently, that it is often difficult to fix the right reading.
- P. 8 19. The forms Pakudho and Kakudho are used with nearly equal frequency. The transition from Kakudha, supposing this to be the original form, to Pakudha, belongs to a class of phonetical changes which offers one of the greatest difficulties in identifying Pali words with Sanskrit. The mutes sometimes merge from one organic class into another, but I refer more especially to the change of a non-labial into a labial, or of a guttural into a dental, or vice versa. 6 Sometimes the cause

⁶ Khānu, which Vararuci, I suppose rightly, refers to S. sthānu, belongs to the class of etymologizing corruptions, alluding

is evidently dissimilation, as in kipillika, -laka, S. pipīlikā (in Spiegel's Kammav. incorrectly written kiminnaka); gaddūhana, S. dadrūghna; 7 — takkola, Abhidh, v. 304. corresponds to kakkola in the parallel verse of Amarakosha; in Mil. (p. 359) also name of a country, perhaps S. Karkoța; — jalūpikā or jalopikā for jalokikā (Mil. p. 407). The latter instance may and some others must be referred to labialism, induced by an accompanying u or o: khajjopanaka, S. khadyota (Dh. p. 338); 8 — nirumbhati, sannirumbhati (to hush, to silence; also to be hushed, to stand immoveable), probably from RUDH; 9 - samputita

to khanati. Comp. su-nakha, su-pāna (the Burmese write suvāna), both from cvan; atraja q. d. 'born in this house;' rathesabha (janesabha, janesuta) perhaps = rathecubh; purindada = purandara; balasata and palāsāda for palasata (commonly written phal-, like most words beginning with pal-), 'a rhinoceros,' properly an adjective, possibly from S. parasvant, which in the Pet. Dict. is rendered conjecturally and perhaps wrongly 'a wild ass.' In luddaka for luddhaka 'a hunter' a confusion of luddha = lubdha and ludda = rudra has taken place. Khanu goes far to prove khanati to be the right reading; in Dhatumanjusa, to be sure, it is written with the dental, but its authority is in this case scarcely conclusive, as some grammatical sutta or other will easily account for the lingual, with which it is written invariably in all good Singh. MSS. and partly also by the Birmans.

7 It is used to denote a very small measure or space of time: Yo antamaso gaddühanamattam pi mettan cittam bhāveyya SN.XIX, 4; AN.IX, ii, 9. Nābhijānāmi ābādham uppannapubbam antamaso gaddūhanamattam pi MN.124. Na kinci apunnām āpajjeyya antamaso gaddūhanamattam pi Mil. p. 110. The traditional explantamical space of the space of nation is very different and most absurd: Gadduhanamattam-pîti gāvim thane gahetvā ekakhīrabindudūhanakālamattam-pi (Ps.). Gandhūhanamattam-pîti gandhavahanamattam. dvīh' angulīhi gandhapindam gahetvā upasinehanamattam; apare gaddūhanamattan-ti pālim vatvā: gāviyā ekavāram thanam añjanamattan-ti attham vadanti (Mp.). In the latter passage, for añjana- I read āviñjana-, from āviñjati 'to pull' — it is used in all the Nikayas, and also in later writings - perhaps from PINJ, for which root that meaning seems admissible on account of S. pinjana.

8 Also khajjūpanaka, khajjūpa, khajjūpaka, more rarely khaj-

jota, -aka. Fausböll and Childers consider -rumbati equally admissible. In Singhalese MSS. mh and mbh are difficult to distinguish, but as an aspirate after a consonant in no other case passes into h, and as the Dhatumanjusa reads rumbh, there can be no doubt that -rumbhati is the only correct reading; and so it is spelled, I believe, by the Birmans, who are not in the habit of confounding h and bh.

'shrunk, shrivelled' (seyyathā pi tittakālābu āmakacchinno vātātapena samputito hoti sammilāto MN. 12. 36. 85. 100), no doubt from KUT or KUC, since sankutita and sankucita also occur; kalopi (kalopi, also kha-) is possibly identical with karoti. 10 The influence of a following labial consonant 11 is evident in bā- for dvā- (bārasa, bāvīsati, battimsa), ubbham in certain cases for uddham (ubbhatthako hoti āsanapatikkhitto 'always standing erect, rejecting a seat' DN. 8. 25; MN. 12. 14. 40, etc.; ubbhamukha 'with one's mouth upwards' SN. XXVII, 10; ubbham yojanam - uggatā Jāt. 530 v. 53; ubbham-uppatita-lomo DN. 30); Prakrit appa, Hindostanee ap, from atman, is a well known instance. The opposite transition from the labial into some other class, is unfrequent; the principal example is the root SARP, which by dissimilation - for most of the prepositions contain a p - forms -sakkati; as, apasakkati 'to go away;' osakkati (S. apasarpati), paccosakkati 'to retreat' (only once I have found osappati); ussakkati, abbhussakkati (or with assimilated vowels -ssukkati) 'to ascend' (ādicco nabham abbhussakkamāno DN. MN. SN. AN., mostly written -sukk-); nissakkati 'to go out' (whence nissakkavacanam, Buddhaghosa's appellation for the ablative 12); parisakkati 'to plan for' (parisappanti Dh. v. 342. 343 in a different sense); pasakkiya = prasrpya. 13

P. 9²¹. As it seems, the author's original plan was to invent knotty questions and answers to correspond for each of the six teachers. But very likely he found the

Similarly mm for ny in Dhammantari (in Mil. name of a physician), dalhadhammo (dhanuggaho) 'having a strong bow,' from dhanvan. So Buddhaghosa, no doubt correctly.

12 The names by which cases are denoted by Buddhaghosa

18 Also anuparisakkati, patisakkati, anusakkati; but after ā, vi, sam, p is retained. Upasappati is used by Vanaratana in a grammatical example.

Alupa for āluka Jāt. 446 v. 1. It is possible on this analogy to identify sippi with cukti, the labializing u (*suppi) having afterwards been assimilated by the following vowel.
Similarly mm for nv in Dhammantari (in Mil. name of a

The names by which cases are denoted by Buddhaghosa and other scholiasts, are partly peculiar and never used either in Sanskrit or by Pali grammarians — what Childers at kārakam says to the contrary I believe to be an error — except in so far as Vanaratana. the author of Payogasiddhi, winds up his Kārakakando with the following memorial stanza, which Alwis, Cat. I, p. 68, quotes from Suttaniddesa: Paccattam-upayogañ-ca karanam sampadāniyam | nissakka-sāmivacanam bhummam-ālapan' atthamam.

task too difficult, and abandoned his design. So there is scarcely any reason to suppose a lacuna in our text.

P. 10³. Acchati is in comments explained by nisīdati or vasati; by grammarians it is rightly referred to ĀS, from which it proceeds through the aorist acchi, S. *ātsīt. 14 Hence the Bengalee verb substantive āch o.

Pag. 10¹⁶. Devaputta may be considered the sing. of deva, which in the sense of 'god' is rarely used in the singular.

P. 10¹⁹. The particle pātu, in pātubhavati, pātukaroti, from S. prādur, is an instance of a sonant being exchanged for a surd. By Prakrit grammarians this sort of change is said to be peculiar to a particular dialect; an invention, perhaps, purporting to account for this irregular euphonism. In Pali the true reason is in most cases

refers it to 'disa atisajjane.' It occurs at SN. I, 32 v. 5 = 33 v. 2 = Jāt. 450 v. 7: Appasm eke pavecchanti, bahunā eke na dicchare (= dadanti Jāt. Com.). In the same Jāt. v. 1: Apacanto (not cooking) pi dicchanti santo laddhāna bhojanam, the scholiast paraphrases it by dātum icchanti. but it is unnecessary to suppose it to be the desiderative of Dā,' and it can scarcely be different from the word employed at v. 7. The verb dicchati, from 'disa pekkhane,' mentioned by grammarians, might derive from adrkshata, but it is possibly a mistake owing its origin to a confusion with the former word. Pavecchati 'to give' is traditionally explained by paveseti (as if caus.) or deti, and looks like a derivative from avikshat, but neither VIÇ nor VISH make good sense; in meaning it agrees with S. prayacchati, but the identification presents some phonetical difficulty. Pāhetha, above p. 12°, from pāhesi, is not found elsewhere. Uggaāchitvāna Mil. p. 376 (in a verse quoted from an unknown source) from uggaāchi. Rudati from arudat, as "ruhati (in verse) from aruhat. From DARÇ a base dakkho seems to be in use, which may have sprung from adakkhi, but more likely from the forms I shall mention directly. Some of the examples are deceptive: dakkhissati is a future with double termination (comp. sakkhissati, modathavho, etc.), dakkhetha, dakkhema, -emu are optatives of the future, dakkhitāye SN. I, 37 v. 1 = DN. 20 v. 1 (Grimblot, Sept Suttas p. 280) is perhaps an infinitive of the future (other examples of the infinitive termination -tāye exist), likewise dakkhitum Vin. I p. 179 11 (also used occasionally in comments, as well as dakkhitabba). More unmistakeable are atīradaskhinī nāvā DN. 11; AN. VI, v. 12 (but in the same suttas tīradassī sakuno, synonymous with disākāko. which was rightly explained by Minayeff, Mél. As. VI p. 597), and dakkhāpita Mil. p. 119°. Comp. Childers in Kuhn's Beitr. VII p. 450—3.

assimilation, ¹⁵ the transformed sonant having been influenced by one or two neighbouring surds; or by l, which in contradistinction to l = d is in this respect on a par with surds. Some of the principal instances are the following. ¹⁶ Akilāsu from a-glāsnu; — pāceti Dh. v. 135, not from PAC but AJ, like pācana S. prājana; — pithīyati ¹⁷ from DHĀ,

The term 'assimilation' may perhaps be excepted against, because it is commonly used in a somewhat different sense. But the process by which e.g. dharma, agni became dhamma, aggi, is in my opinion elision, not assimilation; we ought to remember that the propagation

that the pronunciation was dharmma, aggni.

18 I shall add some more: chakala S. chagala; akalu for agalu; paloka from palujjati (RUJ); oupaka for oupaga in kulūpaka. etc.; Upaku, in Payogasidhi. for Upagu Kacc. 348 (Senart p. 187); Payāka for -ga Jāt. 543 v. 111; vilāka for vilagga ib. 527 v. 10; thaketi from STHAG; lakanaka 'an anchor' (Mil. p. 377) from laketi = lageti; palikha rarely for paligha. Jāt. 545 v. 64; Ceti, S. Cedi; rarely ketāra for kedāra, Jāt. 381 v. 2, patara for padara, ib. 444 v. 3; upatheyya (DHĀ) 'a cushion,' ib. 547 vv. 34. 237; lāpa, S. lāba; lāpu, alāpu for -bu; pajāpatī 'wife' from prajāvatī (perhaps also nelapatī, puttapatī for -vatī); pettāpiya AN. VI, v. 2; X. viii, 5, from pitrya; tippa for tibba in a certain formula of frequent use especially in MN. Chakana is S. chagana, but as it derives from cakrt, cakan, like yakana from yakrt, yakan, the Pali form is the older of the two. Upacikā is connected, through *upatikā, with S. upadīkā, upādīka, utpādīkā, but as it offers an easy and natural etymology from upa-CI, it is probably the original of those corrupt forms.

17 Pithīyati was known to Childers only from Dh. v. 173, but it is of frequent use. Weber's obvious explanation did not meet with the reception to which it was entitled, for Childers and Kuhn repeated the old error; so difficult it is for truth to prevail. The fact is that pithīyati may be suspected of being a Singhalese blunder for pidhīyati, for so the Burmese write invariably. Since I wrote the above remarks, an increased knowledge of Birman MSS. has proved to me that a certain proportion of the words in question are there written with the sonant we are justified in expecting. This statement applies to bhinkāra, (perhaps chakala.) Upaku, mutinga, pithīyati, pāpurana, supāṇa, and probably several others the Birman form of which is still unknown to me. The Singhalese form of these words is likely to be posterior to the introduction of Buddhism and Pali literature into Transgangetic India. It continues an open question whether the rest are genuine, or were likewise corrupted in Ceylon, in the idiom of which assimilation, I think, forms a leading feature. On the other hand it need not be said that the Burmese abound in errors of their own of this as well as other kinds; e. g. hupevya Vin. I p. 8 for huveyya, which is the reading of genuine Singh. MSS. (the Upaka legend is found twice in MN.). Comp. Alwis, Introd. to Kachch. p. 48.

for which explanation we are indebted to Weber, Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Ges. 1860 p. 56; — chāpa from çāva; — palāpa 'chaff' (more commonly in an adjective sense, 'chaff-like, void') from palāva; — from LU lāpayati, Mhw. p. 61 7, if the reading is correct; — from PLÜ opilāpeti 'to make to sink,' etc.; — from VAR apāpurati or avāpurati 'to open,' for *apāvarati ¹8 with labialized vowel, apāpuraṇa or avāpuraṇa 'a key,' and the well known pāpuraṇa (sometimes pārupana, which is properly the noun of action) S. prāvaraṇa, for which the Burmese write pāvuraṇa; the corresponding verb being, by metathesis originating perhaps in the p. p, pāruta S. prāvṛta, pārupati ¹9 (which the Burmese

Childers, though otherwise adopting my explanation, considered avapurati to contain ava, not apa; but he was mistaken. For, first, ava does not account for the change of the radical v to p. Next, apa is scarcely ever substituted for ava; but apapurati and apapurana are in use, and the p. p. aparuta, S. apavita, which Childers wrongly dissolved into a-paruta, is constantly written with p. Finally, ava - VAR would mean 'to cover over,' and could only by a Prakritism signify 'to open,' comp. ava - CHAD. Weber rightly saw this, Zeitchr. d. d. morg. Ges. 1876 p. 179.

Pāpurati instead of pārupati is mentioned by Childers, but I am afraid it is a mere lapse of memory; in Sn. at least no form of that verb occurs except pāruta, and I have met with it nowhere. Weber, l. c., was inclined to doubt the proposed etymology, and raised a twofold objection; first because VAR appears in its due form in pavāra, pāvāra, next on account of the conjugation of the verb. I must here remark, in the first place, that nothing is more common than for a root or Sanskrit word to appear in a variety of Pali shapes; e. g. kusīta and kosajia; pidahati, pithīyati, and pidhāna: ludra. rudda, ludda (Fausböll and Childers failed in explaining this word), and rūla (Mil. p. 275); tikicchā, vicikicchā; byāpāra, byāvata (whence veyyāvacca; from PAR, as Böhtlingk suspected); pāruta, vivata, samvuta; apāpurati, ovaraka (S. apavaraka; at Jāt. I p. 391 read jātovarake); niyyāteti, -deti; pājeti, pāceti (AJ); gilāna, akilāsu (GLĀ); aldha, ālhiya (S. ādhya); and a great many more. Secondly, the regular Pali conjugation of VAR is varati, see āvarati, vivarati, samvarati. Forms corresponding to S. vṛnoti. vṛṇāti are rare (vaṇimhase Jāt. II p. 137; apāpuṇanti amatassa dvāram It. 84 v. 2, vanomi Jāt. 513 v. 14, if 1 conjecture rightly, the MSS. have apāmuṇanti and, against metre, vaṇnemi) and partly questionable. Samvuṇoti is known only from grammarians, and so is āvuṇoti, -āti, if it means 'to cover.' But perhaps the same verb is intended which in our best MSS. is written āvunāti, 'to pierce, to impale, to string.' If so, we cannot with Childers derive it from VAR. It is a new present formed — like *vināti, vinati 'to weave' (Jāt. II

corrupt into pārumpeti). In a few other cases a final surd has remained unchanged in comp. before a vowel, as Yamataggi from Yamad-agni. 20

P. 12²⁶. Ulunka is S. udanka. It means the ladle of the rice boiler, usually made of a cocoanut shell, see

Mhw. p. 164.

P. 12²⁷. Sāmīci is to be derived from samyanc, with the abstract termination -ī or -i, formed no doubt from -ya, as in pāripūri from paripūra, pārisuddhi from parisuddha, kolaputti from kulaputta, pāramī from parama. Sāmīci consequently means 'completeness, perfection,' and seems to denote such minor offices as form a supplement to the strictly incumbent duties. As regards the relation of the laity to the priesthood, the term implies, I believe,

p. 302 ⁵ and elsewhere) from vita, vīta, S. uta, ūta — from the p. p. āvuta (the regular equivalent of S. ota), on the analogy of luta lunāti (or suta suṇāti). The old present abbeti, S. āvayati, was almost superseded; I have only found it twice: coram gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakam abbenti nimbasūlasmim Jāt. 311 v. 3; ekam sūlasmim abbetha ib. 538 v. 37.

²⁰ Mutinga, or mudinga, from mid-anga; by false analogy, it seems, -taggha from -daghna. The latter part of bhinkara for bhingara, vākarā (the Burmese write vākurā) for vāgurā, the rare aljakara for ajagara Jāt. 427 v. 2, was mistaken for -kāra, -kara. From the phrase anabhāvam gameti 'to annihilate,' it may be suspected that anabhāvakata — so the Singhalese and Burmese agree in writing — is a similar error for -gata, if it is not due to the vicinity of talavatthukata, which always precedes it (anabhava from anu-abhava, if Buddhagosa is right; but in my opinion from bhava with the negative prefix doubled for emphasis' sake, like anamatagga; erroneous formations which would naturally intrude themselves from the apparent analogy of an-avajja being actually the reverse of vajja. anaññāta, S. anājnāta, coinciding in sense with aññāta, S. ajñāta). It is difficult to say why t takes the place of d in several derivatives of SAD: kusīta, Pokkharasāti or -sādi, the locatives samsati Jāt. 429 v. 5 = 430 v. 5, and the frequent parisati-m (whence the synonymous sabhatim from sabhā, mentioned by grammarians); perhaps this irregularity may somehow be connected with the fact that sateti (also sateti, sadeti; pannasata = parnaçada), S. catayati, is the actual causative of CAD. Pabbaja, which occurs occasionally for babbaja, is either a mere thoughtless confusion with pabbajati, or else an etymologizing corruption alluding to *parvaja, like supāṇa for suvāna, etc. (see above p. 59). For initials seem to be exempt from this sort of change except under peculiar circumstances. Tuvamtuvam or tvamtvam, 'quarrel,' is undoubtedly S. dvandva, but it was made to look like the doubled pronoun train, and Buddhaghosa accordingly mistook it to mean theeing and thouing.' The same remark holds good, I think,

such attentions as washing the priest's feet, presenting him a fan, and the like.

P. 12 29. 'Atticchatha bhante' is the phrase by which a mendicant priest is refused alms in a civil way, comp. Dh. p. 241. 242. A tīkā explains it thus: Atikkamitvā icchatha, idha bhikkhā na labbhati, ito aññattha gantvā bhikkham parivesathâti adhippāvo.

P. 14¹³. The attainments of a learned brahman are in the suttas invariably described in these words. Nighandu is of course the Nighantu. 21 Ketubha seems to mean the Kalpa, it is thus explained by Buddhaghosa: 'The science which assists the officiating priests (?) by laying down rules for the rites, or leaving them to their choice' (ketubhan ti kiriyakappavikappo, kavīnam upakārāya sat-The Akkharappabheda according to the same authority means Cikshā and Nirukti (saha akkharappabhedena 'sākkharappabhedānam';' akkharappabhedo ti sikkhā ca nirutti ca). In making the Itihāsas the fifth part of the doctrine, the Vedangas seem to be reckoned as a whole; the scholiasts however think of Atharvaveda as the fourth part, though not mentioned. For the thirty-two mahāpurisalakkhanas, specified in several suttas, see Burnouf's Lotus. Anavava is never used except in this phrase; 22 I

sonants progressed one step farther.

21 Buddhaghosa says, Nighandûti nāmanighandu, rukkhādīnam

vevacanappakāsakam sattham

22 When I wrote this, I was unacquainted with AN.; it occurs there at V, xiv, 5, in a different phrase: tattha sikkhito hoti anavayo. Mp. renders it by samatto paripunno.

23 Like upajjham for -āam, -āyam; ettam for -aam. -akam (at

as regards the reverse substitution of a sonant for a surd; for which reason I do not agree with those who derive jhayati from KSHA. Daudha, 'slow,' which is commonly referred to S. tandra, I am inclined to identify with drdha, because daddhi (in kāyadaddhibahula, a word much used by scholiasts, but not found in the Nikāyas), S. dārdhya, means 'sloth, inertness;' in the Sanskrit or rather Prakrit dhandha the assimilation of the first and last con-

Dh. v. 196 the construction of the latter hemistich has been mistaken; several prose parallels prove the meaning to be. ... cannot be counted by any one (so as to state), This is so much'). Traditionally anavaya is no doubt derived from VA (vayati); the comments say, Anavayo ti imesu lokāyata-mahāpurisalak-khanesu anūno paripūrakārī; avayo na hotīti vuttam hoti; avayo nāma yo tāni atthato ca ganthato ca santānetum na sakkoti. - Lokāyatam is explained by vitandavadasattham.

take it to stand for an-avayava,²³ with elision of v, 'in whom there is nothing fragmentary.'

- P. 154. Pāpakānam malānam pabbājetum seems to be inadmissible; it is probably an error for pāpakāni malāni.
- P. 15⁶. Palibodha is perhaps an amalgamation of parirodha and paribādh, comp. sukhumāla (sukhuma, sukumāra).
- P. 15²⁹. Onītapattapāņi is thus explained in Payogasiddhi: Onīto pattato pāṇi yena, so onītapattapāṇi. Onīta consequently means apanīta.²⁴
- P. 17⁷. All the canonical writings, and in an eminent degree the Abhidhamma, abound in repetitions, which in the MSS, are often omitted, being marked by the abbreviation 'pe.' The not omitting these repetitions is what is meant by 'vitthārena osāressāmi.' The sign of abridgment pe, or as it is written in Burmese copies, pa,²⁵ we are informed by Alwis, Introd. p. 93, means peyyāla, which is not however, as he asserts, an imperative 'insert, fill up the gap', but a substantive, peyyālo or peyyālam, signifying a phrase to be repeated over and over again. I consider it a popular corruption of the synonymous pariyāya, passing through *payyāya,²⁶ with -eyy- for -ayy-, like seyyā, S. cayyā.²⁷
- P. 21 13. The phrase 'bhuttāvim onītapattapāṇim ... ekamantam nisīdi' is very frequent in the suttas, and no

it only in one place.

25 Also la and gha; the latter I am unable to account for, unless it be a contraction of la-pa—to which Burmese gha bears

some likeness — instead of pa-la.

26 This form perhaps occurs in the Bhabra inscription; Burnouf reads payāya for Wilson's paliyāya, see Lotus p. 724.

27 And like teyya for -tayya, -tāya. S. -tayya. (Of the various

And like teyya for -tayya. -tāya. S. -tavya. (Of the various changes which the suffix -tavya undergoes, apart from -tabba, only one example is found in printed texts, and it has escaped the notice of our Pali scholars: at Dh. v. 316 we must read with the scholiast, Alajjitāye lajjitātye lajjitāye na lajjare. because lajjitā cannot mean 'what one ought to be ashamed of;' in other texts -tayya, -tēyya, -tāya are not unfrequent.)

Buddhaghosa says, Onitapattapānin-ti pattato onitapānim, apanītahatthan-ti vuttam hoti. He mentions another reading, which is not in our MSS.: onittapattapānim, 'having washed his bowl and his hands,' from NIJ. The best Singh. MSS. write the word with n, not n, as Childers has it, and for which there seems to be some Burmese authority. The MS. marked M, however, has it only in one place.

absolutive is ever added, like disvā in M, or viditvā farther down in all our MSS. Scholiasts supply ñatvā or upagantvā. Some such verb, it is true, must be understood, unless we are to consider 'bhuttāvim onītapattapānim' as an accusative absolute, of which however scarcely another instance exists. ²⁸

P. 22¹⁰. The canonical texts of Buddhism are principally divided into three pitakas or baskets. We are at first view naturally inclined to think of three baskets of manuscripts. But such cannot be the Buddhist sense of the word, since the whole of the Buddhavacana, according to tradition, was in existence, together with its divisions and subdivisions, long before the texts were written down. 'A basket of oral tradition' is certainly a strange expression, but it may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. Buddha occasionally impugns the authority of his antagonists on the ground of their doctrine being traditional, and tradition is uncertain because memory is often

This is no doubt an error; I have subsequently met with several cases much like the one above, from which I select the following as the least doubtful: Etad-attani sambhūtani brahmayānam anuttaram niyanti dhīrā lokamhā añnadatthum (only, exclusively) jayā jayam (SN. XLIV, 4 v. 4). Yathā pi camarī, vālam kisminca (or -ci) patilaggitam. upeti maranam tattha, na vikopeti valadhim (Bv. v. 202 = Jāt. I p. 20). Evam-pi mam tvam khalitam, sapanna, pahinamantassa puna-ppasida (Jat. 474 v. 10). Tā. chandarāgam purisesu uggatam. hiriyā nivārenti sacittam-attano (ib. 535 v. 92; the comment in these two cases supplies 'viditva'). Santam yeva kho pana param lokam: na-tthi paro loko ti 'ssa ditthi noti, .. ti sankappeti, .. ti vacam bhasati, .. ti aha; santam yeva kho pana kiriyam: na-tthi kiriya ti ssa ditthi hoti. . . . ti äha (MN. 60). Evammani assa, atatham samānam (MN. 105; Ps. makes no remark on the subject). Yo bhīk-khave evam vadeyya: Yathā yathā 'yam puriso kammam karoti tathā tathā nam patisamvediyatîti, evam santam bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso na hoti, okaso na paññayati samma dukkhassa antakiriyaya; yo ca kho bhikkhave evam vadeyya: Yatha yatha vedaniyam ayam puriso kammam karoti tathā tathā 'ssa vipākam patisamvediyatîti, evam santam bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso hoti, okāso paññāyati s. d. antakiriyāya (AN. III, x, 9; evam santan-ti evam sante. Mp.). In more recent Pali I do not consider this use of the accusative admissible. Hence in Mil. at p. 143 for hatthagatam janapadam I adopted the locative on the authority of M (probably a conjecture, but a good one, for -am and -e are often confounded), and at p. 290, for dve tayo divase vitivatte I now think that I ought to have substituted d. t. d. vītivattetvā, -tvā being not unfrequently omitted or added at random; nite darake p. 275 is no doubt the loc. sing.

unfaithful:29 Puna ca param Sandaka idh' ekacco satthā anussaviko hoti anussavasacco, so anussavena itihītihaparamparāva pitakasampadāya dhammam deseti; anussavikassa kho pana Sandaka satthuno anussavasaccassa sussatam-pi hoti dussatampi hoti, tathā pi hoti aññathā pi hoti. 'And again, Sandaka, suppose a teacher to be a traditionist, one who knows only the truths he has heard from others; he preaches his doctrine from tradition, through a series of teachers who received it one from another, basket-wise; 30 now such a teacher will remember some things well and some things badly, he may be right or he may be wrong' (MN, 76). Comp. also, Yam-idam bho Gotama brāhmanānam porānam mantapadam itihītihaparamparāva pitakasampadāva (āgatam should be added, I suppose; ib. 95). Working people are represented as accounted with kuddala-pitakam, 31 'hoe and basket.' It appears that baskets travelling from hand to hand were used instead of wheel-barrows, as fire-buckets are occasionally in our day. The term pitaka consequently refers to the fact of oral tradition, and so do undoubtedly several other names of the Buddhist canon or parts of it.

81 E. g., Seyyathā pi bhikkhave Gangānadī pācīnaninnā pācīnapoņā pācīnapabbhārā, atha mahā janakāyo āgaccheyya kuddālapitakam ādāya: mayam imam Gangānadim pacchāninnam karissāma pacchāpoṇam pacchāpabbhāran-ti, SN. XXXIV, 242, etc. Comp. Jāt. I p. 336.

This might seem to be peak great improvidence on Buddha's part, since after his death the stricture would apply no less to his own teaching; but then his dhammo was 'ehipassiko opanayiko paccattan veditabbo viñūūhi,' it was not a thing to be learned by rote. However, these sayings are not likely to have been invented after his death, and they are probably as genuine as any word of Buddha's.

so In thus translating 'pitakasampadāya,' I thought more especially of the compound adjective evanisampada, syn. with īdisa; but I should now prefer deriving sampadā in this context from DA, because I have found in a similar passage the word sampadāna used as its substitute: Etha tumhe Kālāmā mā anussavena, mā paramparāya, mā itikirāya mā piṭakasampadānena, mā takkahetu; mā nayahetu, mā ākāraparivitakkena, mā diṭṭhinijjhānakhantiyā. mā bhabbarūpatāya, mā: samaņo no garūti; yadā tumhe K. attanā va jāneyyātha, etc. ('in the manner baskets are handed about,' AN. III, vii, 5; comp. vii, 6; IV, xx, 3). Traditionally piṭaka in these texts is understood in the technical sense of 'section of a book:' Piṭakasampadāyâti vaggapaṇṇāsakāya piṭakabandhanasampattiyā (Ps.); mā piṭakasampadānenâti amhākam piṭakatantiyā saddhim samentīti mā gaṇhittha (Mp.). It is far more probable that this sense originated in texts such as those I have quoted.

Pāli³² in my opinion properly signifies the 'row' or 'series' of teachers by whom the text was handed down; or, in Mohammadan terms, it is first the 'isnād,' next the 'hadīth' resting on its authority. ³³ Tanti, used as a synonyme for pāli, originally means 'string, chord.' As a third synonyme I consider the much discussed 'sutta;' literally the 'thread' of tradition. ³⁴ In the like manner paveṇi, 'race, lineage, the traditional law for secular matters,' lit. signifies 'a long (pa-) braid.' Vamsa, 'pedigree, list of teachers,' is often used for 'traditional doctrine or custom,' e. g. Five Jāt. p. 52; comp. Aliyava(m)sāni in the Bhabra inscription. ³⁵

P. 23 ¹⁷. Bhadanta, though only known as an honorific appellation of a Buddhist, seems to have been originally invented as a nickname to signify one who addresses Buddha by the word bhadante, which is the emphatic form corresponding to bhante; just as bhovādin (Dh. v. 396 and the parallel verse of the Vāsetthasutta, MN. 98 v. 27 = Sn. 35 v. 27; Jāt. 543 v. 158) is used by way of retaliation by the Buddhists for those who style Buddha 'bho Gotoma.' ³⁶ (For a somewhat different explanation by Weber, see his note to the verse.) Bhante

33 A few Buddhistic isnāds are still preserved in comments; they are at least sufficiently genuine to prove that such lists were once in existence.

The word pāli, which is wanting in the best Singh. MSS. available to me, is spelled thus almost constantly in those of second or third rate, and the Burmese agree with them, so far as my experience goes. Comp. patipāti and S. pātī. With the spelling pāli it occurs in Asoka's inscriptions in the sense of 'precept,' which proves that the word is much older than it would appear from Buddhist literature; and also that it then bore a more general sense than the one to which it was afterwards limited. The name of the suttadharas, who formed a sort of tribunal (Alwis, Introd. p. 100; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II p. 81), shows that also sutta was not confined to religious or scientific tradition.

He who receives a sutta from his teacher, for the time being holds, as it were, the 'end of the thread,' suttanta. Compare also such phrases as suttam bandhati, 'to fasten a thread,' suttam osareti, 'to let down a thread,' which are used for composing or reciting a sutta; suttanikkhepa, 'throwing down a thread,' for sutta-composition.

35 Comp., Atimadhuram Buddhavacanam mā nassatu, tantim dhā-

Comp., Atimadhuram Buddhavacanam mā nassatu, tantim dhā-ressāmi, vamsam thapessāmi, paveņim pālessāmi (Ps. 22). A tikā says, Pavenīti dhammasantati, dhammassa avicchedena pavattīti attho.

³⁶ Comp. Childers in Journ. R. A. S. vol. V p. 230.

and bho Gotama are in fact the two distinctive styles of address used in the suttas respectively by Buddhist and non-Buddhist interlocutors. Though bhante would seem to be a contraction of bhadante, the vocative of bhadanta, this is perhaps an error. I incline to consider bhante a contraction either of bhavart or bhagavant, and bhadanta to proceed from the elided form *bha-anta, with insertion of an inorganic d, like attadattha, sadattha, anva d eva for anva(g)-eva, samma-d-eva for samma(g)-eva.

P. 25¹⁷. Pāramī was explained in a preceding note (p. 64). We may add that the word sometimes takes the pleonastic suffix -tā, before which the final is shortened, thus forming pāramitā. ³⁷ This form is used in Buddhist Sanskrit, and has been differently explained by Burnouf

and Böhtlingk, see the Petersburg Dictionary.

P. 26.7. Katheti is probably a passive form, for kathīyati; a rare contraction certainly, of which no other undoubted instance is known to me except patisamvedeti, used indifferently with -diyati. I take it, like the synonymous akkhāyati in the frequent phrase aggam akkhāyati, in the sense of appearing, proving to be,' or simply 'being.'

P. 26 ¹⁸. Devamantiya is evidently one of the 500 Yonakas, as well as Anantakāya mentioned farther down (Mil. p. 29). Both names, in spite of their Indian garb, are void of meaning ('counsellor of the gods,' 'having an infinite body'), and are no doubt corrupted from the Greek names Demetrius and Antiochus. It is not clear whether the same remark applies to the name of Mankura (Hermagoras?). At all events the author's list of Yonaka names was at an end here, for Sabbadinna is S. Çarvadatta.

P. 26²⁶. Chambhita from STABH, with transposition of the sibilant, like cheva (also theva) 'a drop' from STIP, and in inverse order than from tsaru.

The suffix -tā is occasionally added to abstracts in -ti, as santutthitā; very often to those in -ya, as kāruñātā, kamyatā, sahavyatā, pāṭikulyatā, paṭuñātā. dovacassatā, etc., or in -ana, especially in later writings, as anivattanatā, anosakkanata, (tāṇatā Dh. v.288,) etc. (transcribers frequently corrupt these forms, comp. Dh. p. 383 l. 16 [read patthanatāya], 18; Mil. p. 132, etc.) Also -na is superadded, as jārattana, purisattana, etc.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

The Specimen above, apart from the foot-notes, was written in 1868 and communicated to a few Pali scholars, the late lamented R. C. Childers among the rest, who in the preface to his Dictionary mentioned my performance in terms, I am afraid, too flattering. Various circumstances have retarded its publication, and I am aware that the matter it contains is partly a great deal better known now than it would have been at the time of its compilation. I cannot help thinking, however, that in its present shape it still offers some interest to Pali scholars, to whose judgment I further submit some additional notes, mostly intended to give a few supplements to our Pali grammars.

P. 1². Upaganchi is the reading of the four Singhalese MSS., and it is doubtlessly correct. unknown period, either on the continent of India or in Ceylon, the agrist -gacchi was all but displaced by -ganchi. I have for years made this form the subject of particular inquiry, and judging from nearly 300 examples I find that the Singhalese write -ganchi in about four cases out Whenever several MSS. or parallel passages are available, the reading almost always proves to be -gañchi, with the exceptions I shall mention presently. gaccheyya, etc., of which there are thousands of examples, are never once written with a nasal, and, if the form were not right, no reason appears that could have induced transcribers to write -gañchi, whereas -gacchi being regular was likely enough to be substituted by copyists who had a smattering of scholarship. At Kacc. 517 (Senart p. 263) the reading agacchum cannot possibly be correct, since the sutta refers to mere anomalies. But the error is not surprising, if we consider, what seems to be a fact - Turnour's statement that the grammar was not extant in Ceylon in 1837, is not disproved by Alwis' finding a Singhalese copy in 1855 — that all the copies of Kaccayana, if not Transgangetic, descend from one or more Burmese sources. For by the Burmese -ganchi is used so rarely that I once thought they ignored it altogether. And this

may be connected with the fact that Kaccāyana, whose precepts they seem to follow more closely than the Singhalese usually do, allows the formation of -gacchi at 476 (Senart p. 247). He is no doubt right, if we understand him rightly: in the compound adhigacchati the agrist does not take the nasal (excepting -gañchum and ajjhagañchi), and in the plural, before -imsu, -ittha, -imba, -gañchi is very rarely used.²

The form in question has not been overlooked by native grammarians. I pointed out just now that Kaccāyana or at least his scholiast takes notice of it. And Moggallāna says expressly, 'Damsassa ca ñchan,' which the sanna and Payogasiddhi agree in understanding thus: 'DAMÇ, and as implied by ca also GAM, optionally form the agrist by means of the suffix ñchan,' or by substituting ñch for the final of the root.³

I have said enough, I hope, to show that Childers did not do well in passing judgment upon the form. Nor is it so difficult as he thinks to say how it arose. The original acrist -gacchi was mistaken to be on a par with acchi, akkocchi, etc., and to derive directly from GAM with the imaginary termination -cchi, abstracted from these and the like acrists. It was consequently by a would-be correction changed to -gañchi, very much in the same manner as gatvã was amended to, and supplanted by,

-imsu (= -ainsu = S. -an + su) to -isum.

The aorist adanchi, S. adankshīt, is found, I believe, at Jāt. 444 v.3 (written 'adanthi' in the Cop. MS.); ib. 490 v. 5 ('andachi'); Cp. v. 338 ('atamsi' in the London Phayre MS.).

¹ It is rather surprising that Kaccāyana should have restricted to gaccho an observation which applies with equal truth to most other irregular bases of conjugation; unless indeed this is intended for a polemical remark against previous grammarians, who possibly excluded the aorist -gaccni; perhaps also the future gacchissati, which in fact is very rarely used in old prose and, to my knowledge, never in old verse (Mil. p. 412?), certainly not in Dh., Sn., Jāt., nor the Nikāyas.

² I have found but one example from the old language: upagañchimsu SN. XLI, 13; and only two more in other texts. In the first and second persons of the plural, both-gañchi and -gacchi seem to be all but unused; I have noticed only upagañchittha Mhw. p. 28. Gacchimsu, on the contrary, is frequent, but examples from canonical writings are still wanting. It would seem that a certain tendency prevailed to avoid nasals after two consecutive vowels: gacchimsu is to gañchi as -mhi to -smim, or -imsu (= -auisu = S. -an + su) to -isnim.

gantvā; and as the latter is of undoubted antiquity, it is not easy to be seen, why -ganchi should not likewise belong to the stage of genuine, continental Pali.

That such is the origin of the form I am discussing, is strongly corroborated by the existence of a future of similar formation, ganchati or ganchīti, which is far from unfrequent, though grammarians, as far as I know. have left it unnoticed. Compare the following examples: Ehi tvam rājakumāra, samanassa Gotamassa vādam āropehi; evam te kalvāno kittisaddo abbhugganchīti: Abhayena rājakumārena samanassa Gotamassa vādo āropito ti (MN. 58; the passage is repeated farther down in the same Bahūni ca duccaritāni caritvā ganchisi kho papatam cirarattam (Sn. 36 v. 9; the metre is Dodhaka). Evañ ce mam viharantam pāpimā upaganchisi,2 tathā maccu karissāmi na me maggam pi dakkhisi (SN. VIII. 1 v. 5). Mātuc - ca 3 me rodantyā jetthassa ca bhātuno akāmassa hatthe pi te gahessam, na hi ganchisi no akamanam (Jāt. 525 v. 19). Mettam cittam bhavetha appamanam divā ca ratto ca, atha gañcitha devapuram, āvāsam puññakammānam (ib. v. 51; written 'ganchittha' against the metre, thoughtless scribes mistaking it for an aorist). lohitasanchanna ganchisi Yamasadhanam (ib. 531 v. 47; the metre recommends gañchīsi). Pūjitā ñātisanghehi na gacchīsi (sic) Yamakkhayaṁ (ib. v. 49). Ekarattim vasitvāna pāto gacchasi (read gañchasi or gañchisi) brāhmana, nānāpupphehi sanchanne nānāgandhavibhūsite nānāmūlaphalākinne (viz. dārake) gacchissādāya (read gañchis' ādāya) brāhmana (ib. 547 v. 453). I have noticed more than a score of instances, but the rest would require some discussion as to the right reading, for ignorant copyists too often trouble us with their gacchati instead of ganchati, and the evidence

² The parallel stanza Th. v. 1216 has upagacchasi in a Burmese MS

At SN. XLI, 9 this phrase recurs with the reading abbhuggacchati, which no doubt should be abbhuggañchati.

The metre requires mātu ca, which is most uncommon in Pitaka texts; for even in prose I have otherwise found mātuc - ca, pituc - ca, bhātuc - ca in exclusive use. Comp. kaccic - ca Jāt. 547 v. 738; munic - ca MN. 91 v. 2; perhaps maccuc - ca Dh. vv. 135. 150; socic - ca paridevic - ca, madic - ca pamādic - ca AN. VIII, viii, 1; viii, 7 (in prose). Cases like these account for the false cca instead of ca in ādiyati - cca Sn. 41 v. 6; jātu - cca Jāt. 539 vv. 134. 137.

anutetta anusatha 1.1.4.13 a here given will suffice to prove that such a form is in use. It comes very opportunely to our assistance in explaining -gañchi, for it is not like that acrist without analogies. From HAN sprung up in the same manner the futures patihankhāmi (in the formula 'iti purāṇañ - ca vedanam patihankhāmi navañ - ca vedanam na uppādessāmi'), hañchati Jāt. 457 v. 6, hañchema Jāt. II p. 418 (an optative of the future; the form was noticed by Moggallāna and Vanaratana), and, I believe, āhañcham. All these were formed in seeming accordance with vakhati, dakkhati or dakkhīti, lacchati, pacchati or pacchīti (S. prāpsyati; AN. IX, i, 4), etc. Comp. Prakrit soccham from CRU.

Thanathana. Compounds like bhavabhava, kiccākicca are by scholiasts considered to contain the prefix a, to which they arbitrarily ascribe the signification of vuddhi 'increase,' so that such words are generally said to mean 'small and large things.' This is positively disproved by thanathana, unless we write it with the Burmese thanatthana. Fausböll, at Dasaratha-Jat. p. 26, explained the case on the analogy of rajāpatha for rajapatha, etc. But as that elongation is limited to a few very old words. I am inclined to trace this sort of dvandva to a drawing together of phrases like gama gamam, duma dumain. It is occasionally not very easy to tell whether the text means to give us a compound or two words. There are certain dvandvas consisting of the same word repeated with a preposition, as angapaccanga. buddhānubuddha, mañcātimañca, etc.; but the compounds in question can scarcely contain the prep. a. Nor can they be considered to be analogous to calacala, kecakeci, etc.

P. 57. Suttajālasamatthita i. q. samatthita-suttajāla; samatthita I take to mean 'reconciled,' comp. samarthana in Wilson.

¹ This is a conjecture of mine in a passage where the copies vary extremely. ¹ refer to a stanza which enters into the Upaka legend, MN.26 = 85 = Vin.Ip.8. My MSS. exhibit haccam, ahaña (Burm.), agajum, Alwis (Buddh. Nirv. p. 133) quotes āhañcum, Oldenberg gives āhañci, āhañhi, ahañhi, ahamhi. From these elements I construed a new reading āhañcham, and I think it is confirmed by Buddhaghosa, who explains the word in question by paharissami, and no doubt had that reading before him: 'Agaccham' (sic) amatadundubhin - ti dhammacakkapaṭilābhāya amatabherim paharissāmîti gacchāmi.'

P. 5¹¹. Tamyathā. The author, in availing himself of this Sanskritizing form, shows that he did not perceive the identity of S tad yatha with the Pali or rather Māgadhī seyyathā. In Māgadhī the masc. in -e was. for a great part at least, substituted for the neuter; there is double evidence that more especially se superseded tad. First, the Bhabra inscription professes, 'E keci bhamte bhagavatā budhena bhāsite save se subhāsite vā,' = 'yan kiñci . . bhāsitam sabbam tam subhāsitam yeva.' Secondly, in a Māgadhizing passage of MN. 105 it is said, 'Ānañjādhimuttassa purisapuggalassa ye (= yam) lokāmisasaññojane (= nam) se vante (= tam vantam), etc. In Jaina Māgadhī se 📜 tad is frequent as a particle, and se yahā occurs there too, see Weber's Bhagavatī. Compare also yebhuyyena from *yadbhūyas.

jhanta like pubbanta, aparanta. q. d. 'the middle end!' No doubt a vulgar corruption of *majjhanhika or rather

S. madhyandina, mādhyandina.

P. 84. Sūriya from sūra occurs at SN. XLVII, 51;

Jāt. I p. 282.

P. 8 26. Sārānīya is the spelling of the Singh Nikāya MSS. with scarcely an exception. It is formed with double Vriddhi, like sāmāyika, pettāpiya (or pettāviya, from pitrvya, see p. 62), poroseyya (MN. 54, explained by purisānucchavika), āvenika (not -n-, no doubt from a-vinā,

lit. 'sine quo non'), and perhaps others.

P. 9¹². Pukkusa, Š. pukkasa. Assimilation is one of the most common causes of vowel change in Pali. Instances of i assimilating a were given above p. 55. I acts upon u in vijigucchati, parijigucchati (whence jigucchati), khipita 'sneezing' (for *khupita, *khuvita, KSHU¹), perhaps in sippi from cukti (p. 60). But on the whole i—i is a sequence of sounds not much in favour; on the contrary, i before or after i is not rarely assimilated by a neighbouring a: tadaminā, paṭhavī, pokkharanī, gharanī. dhajanī (or -inī), kāhasi kāhati, karahaci, timingala (or -gila), perhaps icchasam,² etc.; and so is occasionally a

Not from KSHIV, which has a different sense, and forms chubhati, whence chuddha Dh. v. 41, etc. (comp. Mil. pp. 130. 187-8).
Yehi jātehi nandissam (aor.) yesañ-ca bhavam-icchasam, SN. VII, 14 vv. 1. 6. The commentary on Dh. v. 324 quotes this

single i: kotthaka (Five Jat. p. 36), ñataka, upapajjare and similar forms from the Vedic termination -ire. The vowel a likewise influences u: pana, āyasmant, kappara (S. kūrpara), kaham (S. kuha), tavam for tuvam, bāhā for bāhu, Sutanā (Jāt. 501) perhaps for -tanu, sakkhalī (S. çashkulī), accharā and accharikā of the same origin with S. ācchurita (Dasaratha-Jāt. p. 22). Oftener, however, u assimilates a and i: ulunka, kurunga, kunkuttha (Burmese kan-, S. kankushtha), puthujjana (partly confounded with puthu), anutthunam Dh. v. 156 and elsewhere, usuyā; 1 ucchu, usu, susu, kukku, etc. The transformations of the vowel r are partly to be accounted for in the same manner, as gaha, gihin, anana (ina), uju. utu. — Singhalese transcribers are rather prone to this sort of euphonism, and errors like payurupāsati, vinubbhujati, nutthura, katucchu, etc. are not uncommon; so some caution is necessary. It may be doubted that all the forms of this description are genuine, even if the MSS do not vary. Nitthubhati is about as frequent as nutth-, which renders the authority of the latter questionable. Abbhussukkati (p. 60) is not Kapaniddhika, as the word is written so uniformly. written almost constantly in Singh. MSS., haps an error for -addhika. - Long vowels are not exempt from this sort of change: seleti (Sn. 37 v. 4, etc.) from CAD, onojeti from NIJ, vedheti from *vyāthayati (comp. byādhayissati SN. VIII, 1 v. 3 = Th. v. 1214; Th. v. 49), ereti 2 perhaps for īreti (comp. however the Pet. Dict.), khepeti probably from kshapayati (KSHI). The modifying vowel is often a short one: masāraka, S. masūraka; a point to which I shall have occasion to revert farther down.

P. 926. Dosina or -nā, S. jyautsna, jyotsnā, was rightly explained by Weber, see Bhagavatī. The same

stanza with the reading icchisam, and an imitation of it has, Yena jātena nandissam yassa ca bhavam-icchisam, Jāt. 432 v. 9. Icchasam, if correct, may however have been formed by adding-sam to the A-terminations, like pamādassam MN. 130; AN.III, iv. 6.

¹ In anasūyaka the preceding a sometimes preserves the primitive sound, and at Five Jāt. p. 13 = Jāt. II p. 192 this is likely to be the right reading. Payogasiddhi quotes 'kā asūyā avijānatam,' but at SN. 1V, 25 v. 8 the reading is usūyā, and so it is quoted at Kacc. 277 (Senart p. 125).

² At Dh. v. 134 read n' eresi.

phrase is found in the introduction to DN. 2. of which our text is in part an imitation; and the word is also used at MN. 32; Th. vv. 309; 1122; Jāt. 544 v. 19. Buddhaghosa's explanation is a striking instance of his occasional errors: 'Dosinā ti dosāpagatā, abbha-mahika-dhūma-rajo-rāhûti imehi upakkilesehi virahitā ti attho.'

P. 11 9. I ought no doubt to have written uparūparūpapattiko; the Singhalese are extremely apt to substitute

uppajjati, uppatti for upapajjati, upapatti.

P. 11²⁰. Pagganhitvä dehi. The Burmese corrector did not know or was unwilling to acknowledge this phrase. But the use of deti in connection with an absolutive to signify 'doing something for the benefit of some one' is very common: Rukkhe .. tacchentānam parivattetvā deti (turned the logs for them) Ten Jāt. p. 25. Dārūni āharitvā aggim katvā dassati Five Jāt. p. 2 (in this place Fausböll rightly rendered it 'will make a fire for thee'); Dh. p. 186 (not 'made a fire and gave it them,' Childers at samayo); Jāt. I p. 296. Esa no bhājetvā dassati ib. I p. 265. Pettikain me rajjam ganhitvā dehi Dh. p. 157; Ten Jāt. p. 29; Five Jāt. p. 3. Cīvaram no katvā detha Jāt. I p. 220. Pallankam attharitvā adāsi ib. 1 p. 129. Gītassa attham kathetvā detha Jāt. 415, etc., etc. I also think that ganhāti is similarly used, though less frequently, in the reverse meaning of 'doing something in one's own behalf.' Examples from old Pali are wanting, and as in Singhalese the corresponding verbs 'denava' and 'gannava' are largely used in the same manner — see (Ferguson's) Sinhalese Made Easy, Colombo 1878, p. 61 — there can be little doubt that this phraseology sprung up in Ceylon.

P. 13²⁰. Tadūpiya is perhaps properly a Vinaya word; at least it is rare in the texts with which I am acquainted: Nālikodanaparamam bhunjāmi tadūpiyan ca sūpeyyam SN. XXI, 96. Pancamattāni tandulavāhasatāni pandumutikassa (or -tī-) sālino tadūpiyan ca sūpeyyam MN. 81. In Ps. it is explained 'tadanurūpa-telaphānitādīni;' comp. Minayeff's Pātim. p. 81. In a tīkā I have found, 'Bhandāgāriko alankārabhandam patisāmetvā pasādhanakāle tadūpiyam alankārabhandam ranno upanāmetvā tam alankaroti.' I think that this is a wrong use of the word, and that it has no such general signification. At Jāt. II p. 160 'na ca pannā tadūpiyā' may perhaps be

intended for a jest, 'there is no corresponding seasoning of wit.' If it really means, as the scholiast renders it, nothing more than anucchavika, the passage would prove that the etymology and proper meaning of the word were forgotten at an early age; for in my opinion tadupiya can be nothing but S. tadopya. The Pet. Dict. at ā-VAP refers us to that compound, but it is wanting in its place, and I am ignorant in what sort of phrases it is used in Sanskrit. It is true that analogy would seem to require in Pali not opiya, but āvupiya (comp. vutta S. ukta, upta; But that participle was probably āvuta S. ota, etc.). derived directly from the present opati, opeti; for in this verb, in the sense of 'putting into,' ava- is contracted to o-: Rukkhamūlagahanam pasakkiya (see p. 60) nibbānam hadayasmim opiya jhāya Gotama mā ca pamādo, kin te bilibilikā karissati SN. IX, 5 v. 1 = Th. v. 122. Na tesam kotthe openti, na kumbhī (= kumbhyā, loc.), na kalopiyā SN. XI, 20 v. 4 = Jat. 529 v. 12 = Therig. v. 285. It is also used several times in the Jataka commentary. The nearly synonymous osapeti was formed in the same manner from a-VIC; it occurs in comments in phrases like 'pattam dhovitvā vodakam (dry, vi-odaka) katvā thavikāya osāpetvā; comp. also Jāt. I p. 25.

If I am right in identifying tadūpiya with tadopya, it is not difficult to account for the ū substituted for o. It is due to the following i. The vowel i occasionally by assimilation changes e into ī, and by half-assimilation o into ū: pāṭihīra — -hera — -hāriya, parihīrati (Sn. 11 v. 13) for *-herati, -hariyati (hence samhīrati, the passive of samharati or sangharati), abhijīhana (Jāt. 546 v. 49, — viriyakaraṇa) from JEH; 1 — abhirūhati, virūhati (whence the syn. rūhati; comp. ārohati,² orohati), visūka from viçoka (Childers Dict.), mittadūbhin from -drohin. sītūdaka, nirūdaka from -odaka (for in comp.

VEN, VEN appears in the shape of apavinati MN. 48, Jat. 533 v. 1, pavinati Jat. 409 v. 4. Compounds with anu and vi, which were probably in use, as they are in Sanskrit, account for the vowel change.

² In later writings ārūhi. -itvā are found occasionally; it is perhaps fortuitous that ārūhati, etc. are wanting. The form may be explained from the syn. abhirūhati, but it is of doubtful authority. Āruhati, which is not unfrequent in verse, was explained above from the aorist aruhat.

odaka is generally used for udaka). So likewise u affects a neighbouring e, changing it to 1: anuhīramāna DN. 14, MN. 123 for *-hera-, -hariya-; dvīhi, dvīsu for *duvehi, *duvesu. It might be anticipated that u would assimilate o into ū, but such within my experience is scarcely ever the case; 2 so true is it that the Rule of Three by no means universally applies to matter of language. 3 And yet o — u and u — o formed a sequence of vowels which at one time must have grated particularly upon the Indian ear, for it is in many cases avoided. But the expedient resorted to is dissimilation; either u it changed to i, or e takes the place of o: bhiyyo (comp. yebhuyyena), mātito, pitito for -uto (in old Pali māti, piti are not otherwise used as bases), vito, vīto for *vuto, *vūto (see p. 64); — ahesum (comp. ahosi), antepura for antopura, pure for *puro, suve (sve) for *svo, duve (dve), *duvehi, *duvesu (assimilated to -1-) for *dvo- (comp. ubho, -ohi, -osu), hetuye Bv. v. 89 = Jat. I p. 4 for *hotuye (*hotuve, hotave; comp. ganetuye Bv. v. 371).4

latent i of dy, gy.

² Ukkūsa, S. utkroça, seems to form an exception, for ū is required by the metre at Jat. 486 v. 2; but it is constantly written ukkusa.

¹ The ū of khajjūpanaka, ārūgya (MN. 66) may be due to the

³ I once had occasion to make this remark to Childers, who in order to prove gacchi to be correct, from certain analogies was tempted to assert that the Singh character in question should be read coh, not not. — If we expect to find u o v dealt with on the analogy of i e y, or vice versa, we are often disappointed. Y is doubled after e (except in keyūra), not v after o (except yobbana, yobbañña). From dussīla derives dussīlya, but pātikulya-tā from patikkūla seems to require short u. After a consonant va goes into u, v suffering elision; but ya, yā make ī (with a few exceptions, as kujjhisi, abbhibhāsi Jāt. 524 v. 21, pattiya S. pratyaya, whence pattiyāyati 'to believe,' Jāt. I p. 426 10, etc.; comp. pattiyāmi, Weber's Bhag. 1866 p. 272). Aya makes e, as ava does o, and this looks like symmetry; but if we are to go by analogy, the former must have passed through aī with ī for ya, the latter through au, with the second vowel labialized and v elided.

⁴ Some of the nominatives in -e may be accounted for on this principle: Vanappagumbe yatha phussitagge Khuddakap. 6 v. 12 = Sn. 13 v. 12; ito so ekanavute kappe yam Vipassī bhagavā loke udapādi DN. 14 (comp. in the same sutta, ito so ekatimso kappo); sukhe dukkhe (DN.2; MN. 76; SN. XXIII, 8) for sukho dukkho (i. e. sukham dukkham), etc.

- P. 14 18. Ettaka is of somewhat doubtful origin, but as tattaka, yattaka, kittaka are formed from tāvant, etc., in the same manner as S. iyattaka from iyant, ettaka is either this very word, or else contracted from *etā-vattaka. The latter is perhaps the more likely derivation, since *kiyattaka or *kīvattaka forms kittaka, not kettaka; comp. also edisa etādisa.
- P. 14²¹. Anuyogam datvā. In my rendering of this phrase, 'having applied himself zealously,' I left to anuyoga the signification in which it is generally used in Pali. I am now convinced that I committed an error, and I regret to see it repeated by Childers. The phrase must have quite a different sense. It occurs at Mil. p. 348 in another but equally obscure context, and in the Jātaka comment it is often employed exactly as above. But I have not succeeded in finding out any very probable sense, and I prefer confessing that I do not know what it means.
- P. 15 ¹³. Urattāļim, which is of frequent use in the suttas in the above phrase, is S. uras-tāḍam, with -im for -am like uttarim, saddhim, kuhim (for kuham, S. kuha). Absolutives in -am are not much in use, and there is perhaps no second example of -im. Forms in -akam, on the contrary, are frequent, as paripphosakam (PRUSH), samparivattakam, ālumpakārakam, sannidhikārakam, dantullehakam, phenuddehakam, udarāvadehakam, etc.
- P. 17¹⁵. Pubbanha is so written not only in B, but also, together with sāyanha, throughout in SN., which in point of distinguishing the two nasals is by far the best MS. in the Copenhagen collection. Vanaratana ¹

As native grammarians are so very sparing of remarks on the correct use of the two nasals, I shall here add another of his rules: 'Ta-tha-na-rānain ta-tha-na-lā' — ta-tha-na-rānain ta-tha-na-lā honti yathākkamain: dukkatain dukkatain, evam sukatain sukatain, pahato uddhato visato; aṭṭhakathā; panidhānain paṇipāto paṇāmo paṇītain pariṇato pariṇāmo suṇṇayo (meaning, I suppose, duṇṇayo) oṇato; paripaṇṇo palipaṇṇo (sic). evam palibodho pallankain taluno mahāsālo māluto sukhumālo. It is obvious that with 'paripaṇṇo palipaṇṇo' begin the examples of l for r, and we must read paripanno palipaṇṇo. The latter was received by Childers with some doubts, it seems (see his Dict.), but it is not unfrequent in the suttas: Sake muttakarīse palipaṇno DN. 14, etc.; palipapalipanno or palipāpalipanno MN. 8 (palipa or -ā, 'mud,' Jāt. 378 v. 1;

remarks that h may be joined to any one of the five nasals, and gives these examples: avan-hoti, tañ-hi, tanhā. pubbanho, amhe. We may reasonably conclude that nh is also the correct spelling of cinha, junha, majjhanha, which are known only from MSS. of no authority. rather fortunate that pubbanha is so uncommonly well authenticated, for there is no perceptible law for the influence of a latent r upon n; it may or may not change it into n (compare tana, pana, tīni, etc., with ghana, agghanaka, savana, etc.). The very rare aparanha most likely requires the lingual. The average of Singhalese as well as Burmese copies scarcely ever present nh, and the scribes evidently are prejudiced against it, probably from the frequency of words like tanhā, ganhāti, etc. I once made some observations on the subject to Childers, who at anha repeated the substance of them. But he must afterwards have changed his mind, for he writes majjhanha in both ways, and at pubbanha he rejected the spelling for which there is incomparably the best authority.

P. 17¹⁵. Phāsu is perhaps the Veda S. prāçu.

P. 19¹⁷. Comp. Jat. III p. 25, where the reading ought no doubt to be asammattatthanam or asammatthatthānam.

P. 24 16. Na-tthi. Na never loses its vowel before a, but constantly, in case of sandhi, coalesces with it to â, even before a samyoga. Napparūpa is no proof to the contrary, for lacchasi napparūpam, Ten Jāt. p. 115, is, I dare say, a mere erratum for lacchasi 'napparūpam, as the Natthi, if written n' atthi, looks scholiast explains it. like an exception, which it scarcely is; it is rather additional proof how apt is the root AS to drop the initial. Hence I prefer writing na-tthi (and na-mhi). Also na

⁵⁰⁹ vv. 9. 19; Th. v. 92; Therig. v. 293; a derivative from LIP like

the syn. palipatha Dh. v. 414 = Sn. 35 v. 45 = MN. 98 v. 45; AN. VIII, vi, 6 v. 3).

Nantaka (not nattaka), 'a shred, a rag,' is said to be so called, because there is no (regular) end to them: 'Na-antakāni, antavirahitani vatthakhandadīni; or, as we might guess just as well, because 'no end' of them are required to make up a garment. In Sanskrit naktaka, because the naked cover their nudity with them; or laktaka, from being of various dyes. All these seem to be so many attempts at finding an Aryan etymology for a word which may have been borrowed from some aboriginal language.

'tthi would do, if it were not that na si, ca si, etc. cannot very well be written na 'si, etc., as the vowel a in prose - in verse the case is different - always coalesces, if sandhi takes place, with a following light a. At Ten Jat. p. 28 7 = Jāt. II p. 21 16 the context requires mahājanassa līnam cittam. There are however some exceptions, or what seems to be so. But in the cases that have come under my notice, the second word is almost always aham, and I consider it preferable to write 'ham; as, tava 'ham, eva 'ham (Mil. p. 219). tattha 'ham, and especially nāma 'ham (and nāma 'yam). But also nāmāham (and nāmāyam), etc. are found, and altogether the reading is not always, if ever, indubitable. Besides the Prakrit ham, there is other evidence that the initial of aham has a tendency The elision of an initial a after o and e is to vanish. rare in Pali prose, and only applies to the initial of aham, ayam, and the present of AS; after e (with the exception of re 'yya Mil. p. 124) only to aham. and even this is most unfrequent.1

P. 25 ¹⁵. In my translation of vedagū, 'erudite in Veda lore,' I was no doubt mistaken, for though such is probably its original meaning, it is always used differently. It is one of those paradoxical or purposely ambiguous expressions in which Buddha appears to have delighted

¹ This is no doubt a point on which the particular dialect of Sanskrit from which Pali took rise more immediately, differed from the language of books. In the dialect in question final e and o must, generally speaking, have been treated uniformly before all vowels, not excepting a. And Pali follows the same sandhi law; only the hiatus very rarely remains, it being bridged over either by contraction or by the insertion of a euphonical consonant. Cases like sacâham, etc., which I think should be dealt with on this principle, are well known. But the other sort of examples have not, it seems, struck the attention of grammarians, native any more than occidental, though they are very numerous, as ya-d-antagū = yo antagū, hamsa-r-iva = hamso iva, ta-d-āsu = te āsu, etc., and may be met with even in prose: ya-d-ariyo = ye ariyo, dantehi danta-m-ādhāya, etc., if these are not allusions to verse. At Dh. v. 412 and the parallel texts I propose to read, ubbo sanga-m-upaccagā = ubbo sange u., in accordance with ubh' anta-m-abhiñānay, Sn. 55 vv. 65. 67, which the comment justly explains ubho ante. For scholiasts are perfectly well acquainted with this sort of sandhi; I was going to say, too well, for they sometimes have recourse to it, where it is rather out of place.

(comp. Dh. vv. 97; 294-5, etc.). It is explained 'vedasan-khātehi catuhi maggañānehi gato,' 'catumaggañānasankhātehi vedehi akusalānam dhammānam vedagū,' catuhi maggañānavedehi kilese vijjhitvā gatattā vedagū,' etc.

P. 25²⁰. Sāgaro viya akkhobbho, i. e. like the depth of the sea. Comp., Majjhe yathā samuddassa ūmi no jā-yatī, thito hoti, Sn. 52 v. 6 (= mahāsamuddassa uparima-

hetthimabhāgānam vemajjhasankhāte majjhe, Pj.).

P. 25²¹. Raṇañjaha is used at SN. II, 11 v. 2 and It. 104 v. 2. In Abhidh. raṇa is rendered by pāpa, and in a-raṇa, sa-raṇa commentators explain it by rāga, raja, kilesa. But it is rather tempting to conjecture raṇañjaya, victorious in the battle (with Māra).'

P. 25³². Uppalāsenta I consider an error for upalāsenta, I suppose from RAS. Comp. sankham upalāsitvā (instead of -etvā) DN. 23. However, palāsa, 'conceit, pride,' from the same root, no doubt, is commonly spelled with 1; but examples from SN. which would be the best authority, are wanting.

P. 26⁵. Sudam is a combination of su = sma with dam or idam, and might also be written su dam or su 'dam.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

- P. 5 l. 4 fr. b. -dalha-m-attāla-.
- P. 23 l. 7 fr. b. rājā. -- Ibid. l. 1 fr. b. dhammacārī.
- P. 25 l. 11 pativinetun ti.
- P. 31 l. 19 broomstick.
- P. 44 l. 6 Well.
- P. 61 n. 14 l. 4 fr. b. AN. VI, v, 2. Ibid. l. 1 fr. b. add, Pahamsitvā, Five Jāt. p. 2, if it meant 'striking,' might be referred to a possible aor. *pahamsi pahāsi; but it signifies 'rubbing, whetting, polishing,' and belongs to GHARSH; comp. Jāt. I p. 278 5, etc.
- P. 63 n. 18 l. 9 Zeitschr.
- P. 64 n. 20 l. 9 Buddhaghosa.
- P. 75 l. 12 fr. b. add, A phenomenon allied to this is the occasional substitution of a for penultimate i and u: Konḍañña (S. Kauṇḍinya), sākhalya (sakhila), kolañña (kulīna), kosajja (kusīta), āṇañja ('immovableness,' from *aniñja), porohacca (or -hicca), bāhusacca (bahussuta; doubling induced by composition is dropped in case of Vriddhi, except after catu).
- P. 79 n. 3 l. 9 read, .. elision (as anudeva, catuha, annukāri, etc.).











